Daily Report

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'Spirit of Wyoming' Strategy of 'Imperialists'

AU1511151289 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 11 Nov 89 p 4

[Shaban Murati article: "'The Spirit of Wyoming'—Interference by the United States and the Soviet Union in the Affairs of Others"]

[Text] At the current session of the UN General Assembly, the Soviet Union and the United States submitted a joint proposal to include on the agenda "the question of strengthening international peace, security, and cooperation." The proposal attracted the attention of diplomatic circles not only because of its subject, but because the two superpowers had submitted a joint proposal for the first time in the 44-year history of the United Nations. Questioned by the Soviet news agency TASS on 5 November, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze called this step "a result of the positive changes that have taken place in Soviet-American relations and a sign of the influence of the spirit of Wyoming on all international developments." The diplomats and propagandists of both superpowers have begun to talk a lot about this "spirit of Wyoming." It has acquired its name from the meeting of the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state in the American state of Wyoming last September.

After a short while, the term "spirit of Wyoming" was put into circulation, to describe what both U.S. and Soviet diplomacy portray as something which is influencing all international developments. It is the first time that a meeting between Soviet and U.S. foreign ministers has been judged to create something as important as a "spirit." Shevardnadze has met U.S. secretaries of state dozens of times, but only the Wyoming meeting has been accorded such an honor. What are some of the features of this spirit of Wyoming? It must be considered first of all in the context of U.S.-Soviet bilateral relations, and then in terms of international relations. In U.S- Soviet relations, Wyoming resulted in a major ideological rapprochement of both sides toward each other's positions. The proximity and similarity of their ideological and political positions has resulted from causes that relate both to their imperialist strategic interests and the capitalist reform processes taking place in the Soviet Union and some East European countries such as Hungary and Poland. These brazen anticommunist trends in East Europe, which have the blessing of the Soviet Union and the support of the West, have meant that the counterrevolutionary ideological considerations that lie at the foundation of current Soviet-American relations carry more weight and are bringing the countries closer together.

It is understandable that developments in the international situation and the wave of counterrevolutionary reform in the countries of the East, as Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the Eighth Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Plenum, should usher in changes in the balance of power, influence relations among states, alliances, and military blocs, and affect the kind of equilibrium that has been imposed in various regions. These very problems were discussed at length in Wyoming, with the aim of ensuring that the various developments should not destroy the principal parameters of the relations and treaties between the superpowers in today's world. The "spirit of Wyoming" involves greater Soviet and United States commitment to keeping internal developments in other states under control. The well-known American politician, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, in an article published after the Wyoming meeting, wrote that "A group of high-level Soviet officials came to Washington recently and warned their United States counterparts against any illusion that Moscow will abandon its international interests and commitments." These interests and commitments were discussed in Wyoming, and not only involved East Europe, but Western Europe and other regions of the world. They will be the focus of the Bush-Gorbachev meeting in December this year. Whatever domestic trends and developments may occur in different countries and regions, the superpowers do not want the situation to escape their control, or still less encroach on their interests as superpowers. This element in Soviet-American relations was recently highlighted more strongly than ever before by Mikhail Gorbachev himself at his meeting with the chiefs of diplomatic missions accredited to the Soviet Union on 4 November, when he said: "The mutual dependency of members of the contemporary world community increases countries' responsibilities for decisions in domestic policies, not to mention foreign policy."

It is evident that, with the "spirit of Wyoming," the superpowers are moving to a higher level in their coordination, their points of common ground, their bargaining over the problems of today's world, and their agreements not to allow international changes and developments to affect their strategic interests as superpowers. The "spirit of Wyoming" marks a higher level of superpower intervention and pressure on the foreign and domestic policies of other states, but has nothing to do with either peace, security, or international cooperation. It cannot represent anything other than the policies, nature, and strategy of the imperialist superpowers. The world has now known many "spirits" in Soviet-American relations. There was talk about the spirits of Moscow, Washington, Reykjavik, Geneva, San Clemente, and Vladivostok, not to go back to the "spirit of Glassboro" that emerged from the Johnson-Kosygin meeting in 1967. "Spirits" have succeeded each other, because none of them did or could do for the world what it officially promised. Throughout these years, from one "spirit" to another, the world has become no more peaceful, and the arsenals of weapons have not shrunk. The opposite has happened. The various "spirits" of Soviet-American relations have been consigned to the memory of history as phases in the horse dealing between the superpowers, which has brought no benefit to the peoples or the cause of peace. The "spirit of Wyoming" can be no exception regarding its significance and effects. For the peoples, it too will therefore be

stored away, together with other Soviet-American "spirits," as a bad memory from the time of the superpowers' monopolization of international problems.

Cuba's Malmierca Arrives on Visit, Holds Talks

Met by Malile

AU0911095089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign affairs of Cuba, arrived on an official and friendly visit to our country today at the invitation of Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

He was welcomed at the airport by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, and officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Clirim Capani, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Havana, and Julio Cancio Ferrer, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Cuba in Tirana, were also present.

Talks on Relations

AU0911204889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Talks were held today at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tirana between Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign affairs of Cuba.

Both ministers pointed out the positive steps made in recent years in the relations between the two countries, which serve to further strengthen cooperation between Albania and Cuba, as well as the friendship between the Albanian and Cuban people.

Both ministers expressed their common belief that these relations may be further promoted in various fields of mutual interest, particularly in the economic, trade, agricultural, technical-scientific, cultural, health, media, and other fields.

During the talks, Reis Malile and Isidoro Malmierca exchanged opinions on problems pertaining to the international situation, current political developments in Europe and the Mediterranean, and in Latin America, particularly in Central America.

Reis Malile said that the Albanian Government is interested in and works for peace and security in Europe. The ways to achieve these goals may differ, but what is important is that every state should undertake concrete steps in this direction. He stressed that Albania will continue to make its contribution toward the creation of a climate of good-neighborliness in the region, to improve understanding, and to continually expand the relations of cooperation between the Balkan peoples and states to their benefit and to achieve stability and progress. Reis Malile expressed the support of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the just struggle of the people's of Latin America in defense of their freedom, independence, and national sovereignty, against imperialist interference and neocolonialist plunder.

Isidoro Malmierca spoke about the situation in Latin America and in the Caribbean, and pointed out Cuba's support for the peoples and countries of this continent in defense of their national rights. He also mentioned the continuous expansion of Cuba's relations with Latin American countries, as well as other states, which has led to the consolidation of its international positions.

The talks, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, were attended by high officials of the Albanian and Cuban ministries of foreign affairs, as well as Clirim Cepani, our ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Havana, and Julio Cancio, Cuba's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Tirana.

This morning, Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign affairs of Cuba, paid homage at the Martyrs of the Nation Ceremony and Comrade Enver Hoxha's grave. He laid a wreath in front of the Mother Albania monument and a bouquet on Comrade Enver Hoxha's grave.

At this ceremony, he was accompanied by Zyber Sinani, secretary of the Tirana District People's Council Executive Committee; Eduard Shehu, commander of the Tirana garrison; and Kostaq Cifliku, chief of the Protocol Branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Received by Farudin Hoxha, Korbeci

AU0911205489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Farudin Hoxha, minister to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign affairs of Cuba. During the meeting, they spoke about the possibilities to benefit more from mutual experience and to further increase cooperation in the economic, trade, technical, scientific, and other fields.

The Cuban minister of foreign affairs was also received today by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade. The two ministers made a positive assessment of the current trends in trade between the two countries and stressed the need to increase their respective exports and to expand the range of commodities.

The receptions took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

This morning, Isidoro Malmierca visited the National History Museum in Tirana, where he acquainted himself with the ancient history of the Albanian people, their centuries-old struggles and efforts for freedom, independence, national liberation, and social progress, and the great successes attained in all fields of life during the past 45 years. In the afternoon, Isidoro Malmierca visited the Enver Hoxha Museum, where he acquainted himself with the life and revolutionary activity of Comrade Enver

Hoxha and his memorable contribution as leader of the party and people in the construction of the new Albania.

In the evening, Isidoro Malmierca and the persons accompanying him attended a performance of the National Song and Dance Ensemble.

The performance was also attended by Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Alfred Uci, chairman of the Committee for the Arts and Culture; and other comrades.

Economic, Cultural Accords Signed

AU0911210289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] An agreement on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation, as well as an agreement on cultural and educational cooperation were signed today in Tirana between the governments of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Republic of Cuba.

The agreements were signed on the Albanian side by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, and on the Cuban side by Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign affairs of Cuba.

The ceremony was attended by Pali Miska, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture; Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade; Alfred Uci, chairman of the Committee for Culture and the Arts; and members of the two delegations.

The agreement on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation envisages cooperation between enterprises, institutions, and organizations of the two countries in various fields of the economy, the exchange of technical and technological knowledge, the exchange of specialists, and so forth. The agreement also stipulates the creation of a Joint Commission which will tackle the implementation of tasks envisaged in this agreement.

The agreement on cultural and educational cooperation envisages cooperation and exchange of experience between cultural, educational, sport, media, and other institutions and organizations.

The two foreign ministers also signed a protocol on trade and payments for 1990 between the two countries.

Albania will export to Cuba copper wires and cables, preserved vegetables, clothing, and so forth, and will import from Cuba sugar, medical and pharmaceutical products, and so forth.

Tirana Dinner Speeches

AU1011131289 Tirana ATA in English 0919 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana, November 10 (ATA)—The minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, gave a dinner on November 9 in honor of the minister of foreign affairs of Cuba, Isidoro Malmierca and the persons accompanying him.

Present were the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture, Pali Miska; the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Farudin Hoxha; the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci; the chairman of the Committee of Arts and Culture, Alfred Uci; the director of the Institute of the International Relations Study Institute, Prof Sofokli Lazri; and other comrades.

During the dinner, greetings were exchanged and toasts raised to the further consolidation of the relations of friendship between the Albanian people and the Cuban one.

In his greeting, the foreign minister, Reis Malile, said that this visit, the first of a foreign minister of Cuba in Albania, is an expression of the mutual desire to promote the relations in fields of mutual interest. It is in the interest of our two people to increase the possibilities for a closer cooperation in the political, economic, cultural and technical scientific domains between our two countries, to find the ways and forms to carry it more forward.

Albania and Cuba, he said, are two small countries, but despite of it, they make their contribution to the efforts for the cause of freedom of the peoples and peace. Although geographically apart, the Albanian people have supported the revolutionary Cuban people in their just struggle in defence of the national freedom and independence. The PSR (People's Socialist Republic of Albania has supported and supports the just struggle of the peoples of Nicaragua, Panama, and other Latin American peoples against the policy of imperialist diktat and exploitation.

Reis Malile said further on that efforts are being made to create the image of a quiet world at a time when the main factors of tension continue to be present. The international political events and developments show that the present situation in the world is turbulent, with old conflicts and new dangers. He stressed that the PSR of Albania is for the extension of the relations of international cooperation on correct and sovereign basis and for their democratisation in favour of the peace and security of the peoples. It makes its modest contribution to this direction in the Balkans, Europe, and Mediterranean.

Speaking of the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states to be held next year in Tirana Reis Malile, pointed out that Albania will continue to devote attention to the consolidation of the understanding and cooperation between the Balkan countries as realistic alternative towards a most positive climate in the multilateral and bilateral relations in the region.

On his part, the foreign minister of Cuba, Isidoro Malmierca said that to know the thousand years-long history of Albania means to know the aspirations of a people who for centuries on end have fought for their existence as a nation in defence of their culture, identity, language, and land, a people who have never been afraid of the occupiers, but have made innumerable sacrifices to see their homeland free.

Albania, he went on, will celebrate on November 28 and 29 the 45th anniversary of the triumph of the people's revolution and of the liberation of the homeland, as well as the 77th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence.

Speaking of the relations of friendship and cooperation existing between Cuba and Albania, Isidoro Malmierca said that this cooperation of the mutual interest should be further expanded in the economic, industrial, technical-scientific, trade, cultural fields, etc.

The agreements reached between the two countries will serve to this aim as well.

We, he said, follow with attention the correct process which is underway in the Balkan zone, which aims at creating a new climate of cooperation and understanding, thus influencing the general climate in Europe and Mediterranean. The Albanian Government is an active participant of this positive process.

The foreign minister of Cuba said that the Cuban Government has supported and supports the efforts made for peace in Central America. It endorses the struggle of the oppressed peoples for freedom and independence against the imperialist aggressions. Cuba supports the just cause of the Nicaraguan people to safeguard independence and of the Salvadorean people in their liberation struggle and condemns the aggressive acts against Panama.

I wish the Albanian people fresh successes and express the belief that the relations between Albania and Cuba will develop non-stop in all the fields.

The dinner passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Received by Carcani

AU1111203789 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania this morning received at the seat of the Council of Ministers Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Cuba.

After expressing his pleasure at the Cuban minister's visit, Comrade Adil Carcani stressed the friendship binding our two peoples. The Albanian people, he said, have supported and continue to support the Cuban people in their work and struggle to defend their freedom and national independence. It is in the interest of our two countries and peoples, he went on to say, to increase trade, to strengthen technical-scientific cooperation, and so forth, benefiting from each other's experience in these fields. The agreements signed in Tirana yesterday, he said, open up new ways of further promoting our relations and the Albanian side will do everything to implement these agreements and to carry out the obligations arising therefrom.

Comrade Adil Carcani mentioned also the great progress made by our country during the past 45 years of the people's regime, the active, correct, and principled policy pursued by the Albanian Government to preserve peace, security, and stability in the Balkans, and he mentioned some problems pertaining to current international developments.

Isidoro Malmierca, the Cuban foreign minister, expressed his gratitude for the warm welcome granted him in Albania. This, he said, shows the close links between the two countries. All the possibilities exist, he went on to say, to intensify our exchanges in various fields and we view with optimism the future of our cooperation. He expressed the Cuban side's readiness to execute the terms of the signed agreements, which serve to strengthen the friendship between our two peoples. He also expressed his appreciation for the successes of the Albanian people and their support for the Cuban people.

The Cuban foreign minister conveyed to Comrade Adil Carcani greetings by Fidel Castro Ruz, President of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

Comrade Adil Carcani assured the guest from Cuba that the Cuban people have a sincere and well-meaning friend in the Albanian people, and this will continue to be so in the future. He asked the Cuban minister to convey his greetings to Fidel Castro Ruz, President of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

The meeting, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere, was also attended by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, as well as Clirim Cepani, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Julio Cancio, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba in Albania.

Trade Agreement Signed

FL1111021189 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Cuba and Albania have signed three important economic, cultural, and trade cooperation agreements and ratified their identical positions on the struggle for peace and mutual understanding.

The agreements were signed in Tirana, the Albanian capital, by Isidoro Malmierca and Reis Malile, foreign ministers of Cuba and Albania, respectively. The Cuban foreign minister held talks with members of the Council of Ministers, visited various institutions, and toured several cities in this European country.

During his 3d day in Albania, Malmierca invited his Albanian counterpart to visit our country on the occasion of the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of relations between the two nations next year.

Malmierca Conveys Castro Message

FL1111135489 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro has sent a thank you message to the Albanian Government for its continuing support for our struggle and independence. The message was warmly welcomed by Adil Carcani, chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers.

Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca, who has been in Tirana—capital of Albania—for 3 days, was charged with conveying the thank you message from the president of the Councils of State and Ministers.

During their meeting, Malmierca and Carcani agreed on expressing their satisfaction over the fact that relations between Cuba and Albania are developing in every area and reaffirmed their desire to strengthen these ties on solid bases and common positions.

Malmierca and his Albanian counterpart, Reis Malile, signed agreements on economic cooperation, cultural exchange and trade, which reflect the bilateral contacts the two countries have maintained for nearly 3 decades.

Hosts Albanian Officials

AU1111193189 Tirana ATA in English 1101 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana, November 11 (ATA)—On occasion of his visit to Albania, the minister for foreign affairs of the Republic of Cuba, Isidoro Malmierca, gave a reception at the seat of Cuba's Embassy on November 10 evening.

Attending the reception were also the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture, Pali Miska; the minister for foreign affairs, Reis Malile; the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Farudin Hoxha; the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci; the chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts, Alfred Uci; the director of the International Relations Study Institute, Prof Sofokli Lazri; working people of press, culture, science, and other invitees. The reception proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Meets Alia 11 Nov

AU1111204189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Cuba, this morning at the Palace of Brigades.

The reception was also attended by Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs. Clirim Cepani, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Havana, and Julio Cancio, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba in Tirana, were also present.

After bidding him welcome, Comrade Ramiz Alia conducted a warm and friendly conversation with the Cuban guest.

The Cuban minister said: We have been welcomed everywhere in a fraternal manner and are very pleased with the results of our visit. The signing of economic, cultural, and trade agreements has opened up new prospects for the development of relations in various fields. He also conveyed to Comrade Ramiz Alia greetings by Fidel Castro Ruz, President of Cuba.

Comrade Ramiz Alia asked the Cuban minister of foreign affairs to convey my greetings to President Fidel Castro Ruz. We Albanians, he said, have always cherished and continue to cherish special sympathy for the Cuban people and their revolution. The history of our two peoples is a glorious one, a history of struggles for freedom and independence. No one gave freedom and independence to you or to us, we won them ourselves. The Albanian people have survived by fighting and by showing their vitality. The same is true of the Cuban people.

The Albanian people, Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to say, have bound their life to socialism. In the future, too, our stand will remain the same as presently in defense of freedom, independence, and sovereignty. In the construction of socialism, he stated, we are relying on our forces, utilizing all material resources and human capabilities. Albania is for friendship and cooperation with other peoples, as well as for peace and security. It participates in no military blocs and has no foreign troops and bases on its territory. It respects, in its international relations, the freedom and independence of all states.

Isidoro Malmierca, the Cuban minister of foreign affairs, stated: We have learned a lot about the heroic struggle of the Albanian people, whose roots go down in history for many centuries. This explains their present vitality. The victories of any people in their struggles for freedom and independence are also a contribution to other peoples.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and the Cuban minister of foreign affairs spoke also about some problems pertaining to current developments in the Balkans, Central America, and in Europe.

I am pleased, Comrade Ramiz said, that the relations between our two countries have been further developed and I am convinced that they will be enriched with new elements. He wished the Cuban people new victories in their struggle and efforts for their country's progress and prosperity.

Visits Institutions, Museums

AU1211212089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Cuba, today visited the Higher Agricultural Institute at Kamez. He was briefed on and showed

his appreciation for the training of higher agricultural specialists and the institution's contribution to the development of Albanian agricultural science.

The Cuban minister then went to the city of Kruje, where he visited the Gjergj Kastrioti Skenderbeu Museum. After acquainting himself with the history of the battles waged by our people under the leadership of our national hero, he wrote the following impressions in the museum visitors' book: This visit was very inspiring. The museum is devoted to Skenderbeg's struggle for freedom and independence. His example united the Albanian people. This is an example of current importance throughout the world.

In the city of Lezhe, Isidoro Malmierca visited the Memorial and residence of our national hero, Gjergj Kastrioti Skenderbeu, and the tourist resort of Ishull-Lezhe.

The Cuban minister was accompanied during these visits by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, as well as Clirim Cepani, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Havana, and Julio Cancio, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba in our country.

Departs 11 Nov

AU1211212189 Tirana ATA in English 0958 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana, November 12 (ATA)—The minister for foreign affairs of the Republic of Cuba, Isidoro Malmierca, who made an official and friendly visit in Albania, left our country on November 11.

At the Rinas Airport he was seen off by the minister for foreign affairs, Reis Malile, and other functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Present at the airport were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Albania in Havana, Clirim Cepani, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Cuba in Tirana, Julio Cancio.

GDR's Soelle Interviewed on Tirana Visit

AU1411135389 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 8 Nov 89 p 4

["The Albanian People's Work To Build Their Country Impressed Me—Interview Given by Horst Soelle, Deputy Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, to Our Editors Sokol Gjoka and Lulzim Cota"—date and place not given]

[Text] Question: Did your visit to Albania achieve its purpose?

Answer: We came to Albania with the aim of forming a joint commission, to determine the composition of this commission, and also to consider and act on every opportunity to expand relations and to decide on all the exchanges of goods foreseen in the protocol of the agreement reached by the first session of the Joint Commission for Economic, Industrial, Technical, and Scientific Exchange between our two countries. We formed working groups in the principal fields, such as economic, technical, and scientific cooperation, etc. We could also mention the cooperation groups for the processing of raw materials, the chemical industry, mechanical engineering, a further group for foreign trade, and so forth. The goal of these working groups is to find ways for both sides to consider opportunities of expanding cooperation in our mutual interests. After the first session of the Joint Commission for Economic, Industrial, Technical, and Scientific Cooperation, a range of talks were held which considered how to carry out the points agreed in the protocol. All this should help not only to fulfill the cooperation plan for next year, but to go beyond what was agreed in the first session's protocol. It should also help to plan long-term cooperation for the 1991-1995 period. At our meetings, we talked about the concrete objectives of cooperation between our two countries and about cooperation in exchanging goods. In short, we can say that the first session of the Joint Commission for Economic, Industrial, Technical, and Scientific Cooperation between our two countries achieved its purpose and produced good results.

Question: Apart from economic cooperation, in what other fields of mutual interest could our bilateral relations expand?

Answer: We think that other fields of bilateral cooperation exist. We are currently considering them. I feel that this cooperation could be expanded in the fields of health, posts and telecommunications, sports exchanges, and tourism. We are interested in gradually increasing the number of tourists from the GDR visiting Albania.

Question: You visited our stand at the Leipzig Trade Fair. Which goods exhibited in the Albanian display particularly attracted your attention and that of East German specialists?

Answer: I visited your display at Leipzig as a member of the GDR leadership, and was convinced of the new opportunities for cooperation between our countries in agriculture, light industry, the food industry, and so forth. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania made an interesting display of its goods. The Albanian stand aroused great international interest. We think that in the future also we will be always be able to welcome our Albanian friends and their displays at the Leipzig Trade Fair. In exchange for these displays, we hope to be able to organize an exhibition about the city of Berlin in Tirana in 1990.

Question: What can you tell the Albanian reader about recent political developments in the GDR?

Answer: The people are demanding a renewal of political and social life in our country. We are studying all ways and opportunities of development. These involve, first of all,

the country's political life, the active participation of the people in the country's life, and meeting the people's demands for improvements. Despite recent events, the GDR continues to play its role in international relations. There will be further evolution in our country. In short, I can tell you that these changes will lead to the people's widest possible participation in GDR political and social life. The important thing is that society should develop according to the wishes of its own people.

Question: What contribution has your visit made to expanding Albanian-GDR cooperation?

Answer: This has been my first visit to Albania. I have nevertheless been associated with developments in the Albanian economy through our bilateral cooperation. I will leave with excellent impressions of your country. I was impressed by the Albanian people's work to build their country. I have excellent impressions of the Albanian leaders and their ties with the people. My visit will contribute to the progress of relations between our two countries. I thank you for your hospitality, and wish the heroic Albanian people new victories. Thank you.

Carcani Receives Italian Economic Delegation

AU0911091889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] An Italian government economic delegation headed by Renato Ruggiero, minister of foreign trade, arrived in our country today. The delegation was met at Rinas Airport by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade; Gani Cemo, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission; Bashkim Dino, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and other comrades. Dashnor Dervishi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Rome, and Giorgio de Andreis, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Italy in Tirana, were also present.

Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, received Renato Ruggiero, the foreign trade minister heading the Italian Government economic delegation. During their meeting they talked about current trends in the economic and trade relations between our countries, and opportunities to expand them further in fields of mutual interest.

Talks also began today between the government economic delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania led by Shane Korbeci and that of the Republic of Italy led by Renato Ruggiero. The talks discussed ways to further expand cooperation between our countries in the fields of the extraction and processing of raw materials, power production, light industry, the metallurgical, engineering, and chemical industries, transportation, agriculture, construction, tourism, and so forth.

In honor of the Italian Government economic delegation headed by the foreign trade minister, Renato Ruggiero, Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, hosted a luncheon today in the Dajti Hotel, which passed in a friendly atmosphere. Farudin Hoxha, minister under the Presidium of the Council of Ministers; Ismail Ahmeti, minister of construction; Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Professor Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Relations, other comrades, and the ambassadors of our respective countries were also present.

Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Renato Ruggiero, Italian foreign trade minister, at the seat of the Council of Ministers this afternoon, and held a friendly talk with him. At the meeting, Comrade Adil Carcani expressed his pleasure at the visit of the Italian minister to our country, and said that the agreement for economic and industrial, and technical cooperation signed today in Tirana is in the mutual interest of our two countries. The Albanian Government, he said, believes that there is the will and desire, as well as real opportunities, to extend this cooperation between our countries in various fields. Comrade Adil Carcani also spoke about our country's correct and principled policy for the preservation of peace in the Balkan region and about some developments in the current international situation.

Renato Ruggiero, Italian foreign trade minister, after expressing his thanks for the warm welcome extended to him in Albania, voiced his readiness to further develop relations in various fields of the economy, emphasizing that the further extension of this cooperation and protocols to be signed in the future will also serve this purpose.

Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade; and Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs, also attended the reception. The ambassadors of our respective countries were also present.

Malile Receives Italians

AU0911091989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, received Renato Ruggiero, the minister of foreign trade of the Republic of Italy, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs this morning and held a friendly talk with him.

During the talk, views were exchanged on the further development of relations between Albania and Italy in various fields. Political questions relating to developments in our region and Europe and the Adriatic initiative on ecological protection were also discussed.

Dashnor Dervishi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Rome, and Giorgio de Andreis, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Italy in Tirana, were also present.

Economic Agreement Signed

AU0911111189 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana, November 9 (ATA)—The agreement on the economic, industrial, and technical cooperation between the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Italian Government was signed in Tirana on November 8, afternoon.

For the Albanian side the agreement was signed by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, and for the Italian side by the minister of foreign trade, Renato Ruggiero.

The agreement foresees cooperation in the field of mineral extraction and processing, chemical industry, light and foodstuff industry, in the field of agriculture, engineering and electric industries, etc.

Attending the signing ceremony were also the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Farudin Hoxha; the deputy minister for foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani; as well as the members of the two delegations.

Present were also the ambassador of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania in Rome, Dashnor Dervishi, and the ambassador of the Italian Republic in Tirana, Giorgio de Andreis.

The government economic delegation of the Italian Republic headed by the minister of foreign trade, Renato Ruggiero, left our country on November 8.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci; the vice-chairman of the State Planning Commission, Gani Cemo; and the head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bashkim Dino. Present were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Rome, Dashnor Dervishi, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic in Tirana, Giorgio de Andreis.

Wider Balkan Economic Cooperation Urged

AU0911163489 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 3 Nov 89 p 4

[Sokol Necaj article: "For Wider Economic Cooperation in the Balkans"]

[Text] The countries of the Balkan region embarked some time ago on a process of cooperation that is creating conditions for introducing and strengthening relations in, among other areas, the economic field. We see this truth in the results, however modest, that have emerged from the ministers' meetings on economic problems organized in Belgrade, Ankara, and Bucharest. We think that the meeting of energy ministers planned for Tirana in the first half of next year will be another important step in this process of cooperation.

Wider Balkan cooperation than hitherto in the economic field is feasible, valuable, and in some respects vital. Current economic developments, material and human capacities, reserves of raw materials, considerable sources of energy, geographic proximity, arteries of communication, and a roughly similar level of economic and technological development are objective factors which should raise inter-Balkan economic cooperation to a qualitatively new level. It is paradoxical that the level of inter-Balkan trade should reach a figure of no more than 5 percent, although Balkan countries are important exporters on the world market. This state of affairs, created by various economic and noneconomic factors, has led the Balkan countries to turn first to markets outside the region, often under less than favorable conditions, and to meet needs which could be more usefully supplied within the region.

In order to extend this cooperation, it would be a good idea to study regional economic needs and the structure of production and consumption in order to identify the many areas where multilateral exchanges could complement each other. It is understandable that a consideration of opportunities to develop cooperation should bear in mind the specific characteristics of the individual Balkan countries' economic development, as well as the individual characteristics that arise from these countries' membership of different groups. Developing wider economic cooperation in the Balkans is not an alternative to the Balkan countries' relations with their traditional partners. The existence of different economic systems and other characteristics first of all presupposes that specific ways and means of cooperation will be found, and that this cooperation must be assessed in relation to the benefits arising from each country's active involvement in general economic processes in Europe and the world at large.

It has become possible to look for ways and means of economic cooperation, because the Balkans now have a much greater economic potential than they possessed in the not so distant past. Specialist circles are now convinced that the Balkan states can now find mutually acceptable ways of expanding economic cooperation among themselves without affecting the directions in which they are developing their national economies or compromising their international obligations. Commercial, industrial, technological, and scientific cooperation is at present conducted under a regime that is no different from that which is the basis of the Balkan countries' international economic relations with outside parties, without any form of incentive or preferential treatment. The suggestions and recommendations made at Balkan meetings up till now have been useful steps toward creating a more favorable future climate for economic relations.

Trade is an area where every country would be highly sensitive to the realization of reciprocal benefits. One measure that would doubtless give a major impulse to trade would be the elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers. A start could be made by eliminating barriers of

a non-tariff character, such as fixed quantities, quotas, the license system, barriers of a technical nature, and by easing customs procedures. If we consider changes and developments in the modern world, we see that Balkan markets are more suitable for the absorption of different industrial and productive products, in comparison to third markets, which are and will remain more difficult to penetrate because of competition. In this context, the stimulation of border trade is not without importance, creating major opportunities to overcome barriers of a non-tariff nature which are often invisible, but are not insignificant.

Economic effectiveness and progress are among the main objectives of multilateral economic cooperation among the Balkan countries. Appointing institutional cadres for economic cooperation among the Balkan countries would help to achieve this goal, aiming at the gradual creation of easier conditions for the exchange of goods. Fully exploiting the potential of Balkan economic cooperation through joint efforts could help to produce the best results in certain principal fields, thus ensuring the best opportunities for equal economic dialogue between the Balkans and partners outside the region.

Both within the Balkan context and beyond, Albania is interested in expanding its relations and cooperation with foreign countries in every possible way that does not encroach on its national sovereignty and independence. Albania bases the development of its trade and economic cooperation with other countries on its domestic capabilities and its diversified economy.

About one-third of Albanian export and import trade is carried out within the Balkan region, which shows not only the priority that Albania gives to neighboring countries, but also testifies to the opportunities the Balkans offer for increased and balanced economic cooperation.

The Balkan process is a common cause of all the Balkan states, in which each one has the chance to contribute toward achieving the more peaceful and economically developed region that its peoples so much desire.

Assembly Presidium Declares 'Extensive Amnesty'

AU1511205989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Nov 89

The Presidium of the People's Assembly decided to declare an extensive amnesty. The pertinent decree states:

On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation, taking into consideration the constant consolidation of the our socialist order, the sound moral and political state of the country, the steel-like unity of the people around the party, the consolidation of the international position of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; and with the intention of allowing people who have been found guilty of having perpetrated penal acts to return to society and to participate actively in political, economic, and social work for the benefit of the country; in conformity with Article 77 of the Constitution and acting on the proposal of the Council of Ministers, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, decided:

Article 1. Those persons sentenced to deprivation of freedom for up to 5 years and those who have been given conditional sentences are pardoned.

1. Exempted are those persons who have been found guilty of: crimes against the state according to Articles 47-60 of the Penal Code; illicit appropriation of socialist property according to Articles 61-68 of the Penal Code; appropriation of private property according to Article 101-102 of the Penal Code; as well as those persons who have been given uncommutable sentences for various repeated penal offenses.

2. All of those persons sentenced who will have reached the age of 18 by 20 November 1989 are pardoned.

3. Those persons sentenced to deprivation of freedom who will have reached the age of 60 by 20 November 1989 are pardoned.

Among those sentenced for crimes against the state, the only ones to benefit from the amnesty are those who have been sentenced for being fugitives according to Article 47, letter G of the Penal Code, and those sentenced for agitation and propaganda according to Article 55, first paragraph of the Penal Code.

4. All women sentenced to deprivation of freedom for up to 15 years, those who have received lesser sentences, and those who have been given conditional sentences are pardoned.

5. Those persons who have been sentenced to deprivation of freedom and who have 1 year or less to complete their sentence are pardoned. For crimes against the state, the only persons to benefit from this are those who have been sentenced for being fugitives according to Article 47, letter G of the Penal Code; and for agitation and propaganda according to Article 55, first paragraph of the Penal Code. Those who have been sentenced for appropriation of socialist property according to Articles 61-65 of the Penal Code, or for theft of the property of citizens according to Articles 101-102 of the Penal Code are exempted from the amnesty.

6. All of those persons found guilty of having perpetrated military penal acts envisaged in Articles 139-146 and 237-246 of the Penal Code are pardoned.

7. All persons who do not benefit from the aforementioned paragraphs of this decree will have their sentences cut by one- fourth.

8. Complementary sentences such as a ban on carrying out a given activity or engaging in a given profession, deprivation of the right to vote or to be elected, expulsion, or internment are abolished in the case of all of those who have served their main sentence, who have been pardoned previously, or who benefit from this decree.

9. Those persons who have been fined in conformity with a penal sentence or by court decision are pardoned of one-fourth of the sum they owe to the state or economic organizations for damage caused as a result of their penal acts.

10. Penal proceedings on all cases being investigated and cases still not examined by courts, which carry a penalty of 5 years of deprivation of freedom or less, are abrogated.

Those persons accused of appropriation of socialist property, theft of the property of citizens, and those previously given uncommutable sentences for various penal acts are exempted from the amnesty.

11. In the meaning of this decree, those persons who have been sentenced by decision of village, city, or city precinct courts are not considered to be recidivist. The sentences given by decision of these courts are not pardoned.

Article 2. All persons benefiting from this amnesty and who are released are to go to their places of residence and are to work where the country needs them in order to become worthy citizens of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Society and the state organs are to give them the necessary assistance.

Article 3. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Supreme Court, the General Bureau of Investigation, and the Office of the Prosecutor General are responsible for the implementation of this Decree.

Article 4. This Decree comes into force on 20 November 1989.

Tirana, 13 November 1989.

Decree No. 7338.

For the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania: Ramiz Alia, chairman; Sihat Tozaj, secretary.

Carcani Speaks at Tirana AWP Conference

AU1511163389 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 8 Nov 89 p 5

[Report on speech by Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the 25th Tirana Albanian Workers Party Conference on 7 November]

[Text] The conference was also addressed by Comrade Adil Carcani, who greeted and congratulated the communists and workers of Tirana District in the name of the Party Central Committee and of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Ramiz Alia, for the achievements attained so far, particularly during the current year, which rank among the best in the current 5-year period. Having assessed the proceedings of the conference and the optimistic and responsible analysis of the problems in the fields of production, service, the arts, science, and culture in the light of the great tasks set out by the eighth Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee plenum, he dwelt on a number of problems pertaining to the further elevation of the role of the party organizations and the militancy of communists in successfully fulfilling the great tasks currently confronting Tirana District.

The creative abilities of the basic organizations and the militancy of communists, Comrade Adil Carcani stressed, must rise to the level of the demands for the establishment and consolidation of economic logic everywhere. Tirana has a great production potential and a complex multi-branched economy. This makes the consolidation of economic thinking and logic even more imperative. Tirana District has all the prerequisites to this end, because it has a great human, material, and technical-scientific potential. We must seek economic logic, Comrade Adil Carcani, in the earliest stages of planning and primarily at the base, in the enterprise and agricultural cooperative, in production sectors and brigades where people know best what reserves are available to raise production and its efficiency. The task of the basic organization is to arouse the interest of the masses and their active participation, as well as to stimulate their creative thinking in opposition to manifestations of formalism and conformism. To achieve this, it is necessary to review planning methodology and give broader scope of activity to the base, as is happening in the agricultural sector.

Economic thinking and logic, he said, must occupy a more important place, particularly in the process of the implementation of plans, in finding more efficient ways of implementing it in all its indicators. The plan means not only overall fulfillment, but fulfillment in all various aspects: variety, quality, costs, and other indicators. Exaggerated plans, as well as those drafted in such a way as to be safe; poorly-argued production and administrative costs, excessive investments and those spread over too many projects at the same time, which take years to complete or remain incomplete, thus blocking investment funds, and so forth—all this is a reflection of subjective wishes and tendencies that have nothing in common with economic thinking and logic, on the contrary.

Our economy, Comrade Adil went on to say, has currently set the task that the party organizations and the state and economic organs at the base and at the center, and all cadres and specialists should delve more deeply on the economic and financial aspects of plans, beyond which they must see not only figures,but primarily the participation of people at work, the degree of their mobilization, and the harmonization of the interests of individuals, on one hand, and those of the collective and society, on the other, to make them more conscious for the fulfillment of production, construction, and service tasks.

One of the major problems facing the economy, and of great importance in determining its efficiency, is currently that of social labor productivity. In this context, Comrade Adil Carcani put the stress on the technical, technological, and material factors needed to achieve

that qualitative leap demanded by the eighth AWP Central Committee plenum. Of decisive importance in this is the work of the party organizations and their levers in educating the workers, because live labor is the greatest and most efficient investment.

It is imperative that increased productivity should be transformed into a powerful movement embracing innovators and rationalizers, production specialists and the staff of scientific and research institutions, as well as all the working masses led by the communists.

Tirana's technical and human potential must be set in motion, particularly with regard to matters such as the problems connected with the quality of products, because quality means at the same time quantity,productivity, cost, efficiency, and so forth. Efforts must be made to further perfect the economic mechanism and that of the various levers to better link the remuneration of the workers with production, to make the workers and specialists more interested in raising production and in improving its quality. The workers and specialists at the base have good ideas on these matters, which the administrations of enterprises, the executive committee sections, and the ministry directorates must consider and push through.

The party organizations and communists must rely more strongly on advanced and scientific thinking, must stimulate it to achieve greater results in agriculture and livestock raising, particularly with regard to the production of milk, vegetables, eggs, meat, and fruit, which are also the main products in the district. Comrade Adil said that it is necessary to check the decline in productivity experienced in recent years under certain headings, particularly in the production of milk from cows, and to make every effort to raise to higher levels and to set an example to other districts. After speaking about the considerable potential that Tirana District possesses to achieve this, he mentioned also the need to immediately apply advanced experience that exists also among brigades and collectives within the district, as well as on the national scale. The agricultural units of Tirana District must be primarily large units of advanced experimentation, where new technologies and the most advanced achievements of contemporary science are applied.

Comrade Adil Carcani said that the question of the supply of the population and the question of vital services must always remain at the center of the party's attention, these representing great political, economic, and social problems. The increase in the large-scale production of industrial and consumer commodities is the foundations on which the rising well-being of the population is based. The major duty of the party and state organs is to insist that the planned tasks be fulfilled in value, variety, and quality. In dealing with this problem, which is related to the party's economic policy, he drew attention to the fact that there is a gap in Tirana District between the effort made to fulfill production plans and the standards required in the service sectors, particularly in the social catering, communal, and health sectors. These sectors also have problems concerning the organization of the work, the perfecting of remuneration forms to better link it with the quality of the services, the strengthening of state and social control, and in reviewing of prices and tariffs, because the level of profitability in the service sector remains high. This prevents it from attracting the purchasing power of the population.

Further on Comrade Adil Carcani dealt with some problems pertaining to the great movements of the time, these being a reflection of the line of the masses and socialist democracy. Tirana, he said, is the initiator of one of these movements, the one intended to raise the efficiency of the economy, which is bearing fruit. Speaking about the major directions of this movement, he put the stress on the need to raise the coefficient of the utilization of raw and other materials, to reduce technological waste and to use it for the production of small items, even in a preindustrial manner, suffice it that they are liked by the people; he also stressed the need to review the norms set for the utilization of materials per unit of production, to reduce losses, and particularly to improve the financial situation of the agricultural enterprises of the district. Comrade Adil Carcani congratulated the working collective of the chemical enterprise, and those of some other enterprises in the capital, that took the initiative to produce export commodities, although they had no such obligation, and to thus meet their own import demands. He instructed that this initiative be turned into a massive movement involving all the collectives in Tirana District.

Speaking about problems of substance and quality in the sectors of culture and science and the tasks of the party organizations in these sectors, he stressed that art and literature should delve more profoundly in the great problems raised by the party currently, responding to the demands of the times, to our development. They must deal with weighty questions and must not reduce them to marginal conflicts, as happens in the case of some literary works, on the stage, and on the screen. Literature and the arts must place working men at their epicenter, workers, cooperativists, talented innovators,distinguished scientists, and so forth, with their broad interests. The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, Comrade Adil Carcani stressed, have always insisted that the central institutions should make a greater contribution in the life of the capital, and particularly in the villages of Tirana.

He went on to speak about a greater commitment by scientific institutions for Tirana, about a broader concept on the work and contribution of science in rapidly resolving the capital's problems, particularly economic problems. Concrete solutions are required in production, instead of theses for scientific titles, which have their importance, too, but must not be turned into an end in itself. The question of the direction of scientific work and its efficiency are important problems of orientation and control by district party organizations. What is required is that they should stimulate scientific debate, which is currently very tepid.

The problems of the creative, artistic, and scientific intelligentsia, of education, and generally, of culture, must be better tackled by the rayonal party committees, and particularly the District AWP Committee. They must be in close touch and communicate more frequently and freely with them. The rayon party committees and the Tirana AWP District Committee must keep intensive contacts with distinguished working people in production, science, education, the health sector, and the arts, with whom they must consult continually, closely, and openly about the great problems preoccupying our party, state, and society. The values of such consultations are two-sided. Creative people and specialists need it, but even more so the party apparatuses, because it helps them to acquaint themselves more closely with problems and to find the most optimal solutions.

Speaking about the imperative need to deepen the struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy in the central apparatuses and departments and in the executive organs, and about the establishment of closer links with the base in order to secure more solutions to the problems arising, Comrade Adil stressed that they much better respond to the revolutionary way of the masses and must never permit their work to become detached from that of the base. Their work must be measured against the concrete and efficient solutions found to various problems. What is important in solving problems and overcoming difficulties arising in the process of the country's socioeconomic development, he said, is to strengthen the links between the party organizations and the state and economic organs, on the one hand, and the working masses, on the other, to establish a close and open cooperation about all the questions currently preoccupying society.

Comrade Adil Carcani dealt also with some problems of the current international situation.

In conclusion, Comrade Adil Carcani expressed his full confidence that the working people of Tirana District, led by the communists and inspired by the teachings of the party and the valuable instructions of our beloved leader, Comrade Ramiz Alia, will redouble their efforts to successfully fulfill this year's tasks and those of the 5-year period and thus go to the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation and the victories of the revolution with even greater victories in all fields of life.

Plenum on 'Organizational Issues' Opens

AU1611091389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] A plenum of the Central Comittee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] opened this morning at the Georgi Kirkov Hall of the party building. The plenum is discussing current organizational issues.

Citizens' proposals have been received by the BCP Central Committee and by radio and television for direct relay to the Central Committee plenum via radio and television. However, this is not being done because the plenum is a closed session. Immediately after the plenum ends, we shall inform you about its decisions.

Newspapers Comment on 'Great Expectations'

AU1511145189 Sofia BTA in English 1408 GMT 15 Nov 89

["Commentary on the Plenum of the CC of the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 15 (BTA)—The mood of the Bulgarian people, the feelings after the November Plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]: These are the topics of today's signed commentaries in RABOTNICHESKO DELO and TRUD.

It had been a long time since there was such an outburst of enthusiasm and hope, writes in RABOTNICHESKO DELO Radoslav Radev, editor-in-chief of this daily, after generalizing the impressions of the tone of the letters which arrived in the editorial [board] and about the moods of the people in the streets and at their places of work.

This spontaneous expression of the feelings and hopes the writer relates to the conviction that a new stage has begun of the country's revolutionary restructuring. "The people got tired of hearing that no breakthrough had been made, that the renewal remained in a stalemate and yet there was no one to blame. They got tired of seeing discrepancies between the official reports for the plan fulfillments and the market condition. People wondered at the ungrounded reprisals which complicated further the situation and exacerbated the social climate. People got tired of writing against the cadre policy in which friendship and relationship were neither last nor least," the commentary says.

With great expectations that these times have passed the people are welcoming so unanimously the election of the new secretary general of the CC of the BCP, whose final speech reassured them, gave them hopes and raised their self-confidence and spirits, the writer said.

At the same time, however, the commentary says that we should not expect that everything will be improved by a magic wand. A great amount of work should be done, there must be a lot of insistency, exigence, and everybody's efforts are needed, Radoslav Radev writes, expressing a conviction that when man believes, when he sees decisive actions, everything becomes much easier for him and he can willingly join the processes of renewal.

In TRUD journalist Tosho Toshev places the accent on the lack of confidence, a result of the devaluation of decisions, decrees and resolutions.

We were lost in admiration and we praised, we went into trance, the ordinary word order seemed insufficient and we composed odes. Thus, we came to the main shortage: the lack of confidence, the writer indicates.

Today, the words, even the most beautiful ones, look like words taken from the bag of the junk dealer. And what many of these words can cause now is, if not allergy, then at least ridicule or a new lack of confidence, Tosho Toshev writes, appealing to deal modestly and more cautiously with words now. We won't add anything new to the moral and intellectual qualities of the new party leader if we adorn him with the familiar, worn-out and (alas) meaningless words, the writer goes on to say, drawing the attention that there have already been people who adorned by beautiful adjectives the final speech of Petur Mladenov.

After estimating the speech as an exemplary political declaration, which outlines the intentions and is in good harmony with diplomacy, he writes, "I believe that the new secretary general does not need easy praises. And the people need them even less. Because this is not a case of a change of portraits in the offices. The main thing about the plenum was that it finally opened the door which, if used, can take us to life with no illusions. [closing quotation marks not received]

Raising the issues about the cadres, both dailies express the opinion that the new course requires new people.

Public Rally Supporting Restructuring Planned

AU1511162989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] At the initiative of the political and social forces committees attached to the Fatherland Front in Sofia, and at the initiative of numerous citizens, young people, revolutionary movement veterans, veteran workers, and representatives of the Bulgarian intelligentsia, a rally of the Sofia public in support of restructuring in Bulgaria and of its accelerated progress is convened for Friday, 18 November, and is scheduled to take place as of 1600 Bulgarian time in the National Assembly Square in Sofia, with the authorization of the Sofia City Municipal Council. Citizens are invited to attend the rally, and I would like to join this invitiation, since I also intend to be there.

Privileges, Bureaucratic Methods Criticized

AU1511203189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Nov 89 pp 1,2

[Article by Prof Doctor Stoyan Radev: "Unity and Cohesion"]

[Excerpts] The requirement of transforming Bulgaria into a law-governed and democratic country, into a country where human rights and individual initiatives should be observed and respected, was particularly emphasized at the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee 10 November Plenum. This undeniably should contribute to the solution of other fundamental problems related to Bulgarian society and is bound to inspire the restructuring process with new strength and motivation.

It is a well-known fact that the most important and decisive question of political economy is the question of labor productivity. In this context there can hardly be any doubt whatsoever that in considering Bulgaria's position within CEMA and in comparing our country to the developed states, all members of our intelligentsia, and our workers class, the peasants, the party, and state organs are expected to devote a tremendous amount of effort and to engage in comprehensive activities. The problems of accurate forecasts and correct conclusions for the further investment policy, for our industrial construction, and for the gradual restructuring of failing enterprises and plants which still exist, thanks to considerable state subsidies, are indubitably playing an important role in this respect. This, in turn, means that a certain number and certain categories of workers should be reoriented and retrained, that new specialists should be educated and new specialties prepared. [passage omitted]

Numerous problems related to the sphere of public services are awaiting their radical and timely solution: Queues in front of grocery stores and shortcomings in transportation services, in public transportation, and in administrative services are among such negative phenomena. This is particularly important, considering that such problems affect the working time of thousands of people, something which is certainly counterproductive to labor productivity and which does not contribute to the citizens' working enthusiasm. [passage omitted]

On the other hand, the existing secrecy and the rather limited possibilities in the dispensation of the law and in legal procedure, the well-known restrictions imposed on the mass media, and so forth practically deprived the Bulgarian public of the opportunity to exert control over events, despite the fact that the most highly developed control apparatus exists in our country. The results of such circumstances are well known. It is sufficient to take a walk in the outskirts of Sofia or a hike through the beautiful Bulgarian mountains and woods to see what some some people are doing with their private savings accounts; it is also sufficient to observe certain methods, which were practiced until recently, of accepting some people as members of scientific institutes or of promoting cadres.

We developed and frequently adopted splendid, principled decisions, which were usually accepted "unanimously" and with "standing ovations." For our image in the world it was very important that all these plans and decisions adopted at different levels and on various occasions were unanimously accepted; it was important for us to declare that we all supported them. Nevertheless, I do not understand why our interests were limited to this fact. We were much less curious to learn about the further implemention of such plans and decisions. The analysis of this implementation and the results of the decisions in question were infinitely more modest, less noisy, and our attention devoted to them was less sharp and rather superficial. In other words—we used to show off and to make noisy declarations in announcing the great decisions and plans ... but we accomplished much less in exerting control over their implementation and their results.... Why was that so? This is another question that is awaiting an answer.

Perhaps all these shortcomings should be attributed to the fact that, despite numerous and endless reforms and reorganizations, (some people even defined the People's Republic of Bulgaria as a country which was being eternally reorganized and restructured) we were far from being sufficiently reorganized and restructured.

Naturally, no one is entitled to denigrate and deny our achievements in various spheres of life. The development along which we have been proceeding since 9 September 1944 marked our country's progress and opened new horizons for our future. Despite the existing shortcomings, Bulgaria achieved great and universally recognized successes. Nevertheless, it is also true that the new era and the consequences of the shortcomings we committed are confronting us with great, new tasks. It is today more than ever necessary to ensure the nation's unity and cohesion, rallied with all its efforts around our leadership, so that we may successfully cope with the numerous problems that have accumulated along the path of our progress.

Komsomol, Writers Union Support Restructuring

AU1611080389 Sofia BTA in English 2027 GMT 15 Nov 89

["In Support of Restructuring"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 15 (BTA)—In an open letter of the Central Committee [CC] of the Young Communist League to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] it is underlined that the November Plenum of the CC of the BCP will take a special place and will become a turning point in the development of the party and the country, will play an especially important role for lending dynamism to the restructuring.

"Today we associate the future of socialism in Bulgaria with the necessity of final and irreversible dismantling of the command-administrative system, with the adjustment of the economy to the new realities, the assertion of glasnost as a principle of party and state policy, with the new political thinking and the sweeping reforms which are under way in the USSR and the other socialist countries," it is said in the letter.

The leadership of the youth organization express their conviction that the principled, open and fair discussions will result in such decisions of the CC of the [BCP] which will be up to the mark of the needs and the expectations of society.

The Administrative Council of the Union of Bulgarian Writers also made a declaration in support of the decisions of the plenum.

The necessary full-value, open and honest dialogue on all matters of life can be held only on the principles of humanism, glasnost, pluralism of views and the awareness of the challenge of the time. Thus socialism will get free of all command-administrative structures and vices hamping it and the possibilities inherent to it will be revealed. This is the only way of shaping a harmonious, highly moral and spiritually rich life for man, it is said in the declaration.

In conclusion it is underlined that the Bulgarian writers are aware of the necessity of implementing a real restructuring.

Public Figures Comment on 10 Nov Plenum

AU1511132589

[Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian on 13 November carries on page 3, three statements of 400 words each by Bulgarian public figures commenting on the 10 November Plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and on its results for the future development of restructuring in Bulgaria.

The first statement by Dr Vladimir Bonev, BCP Central Committee member and chairman of the Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism Union, entitled "Pioneers of Social Development," expresses approval for the Politburo report which was published in advance and submitted to the 10 November plenum, pointing out the undeniable successes of socialist Bulgaria in the past reflected in the aforementioned report.

Bonev admits that "shortcomings and mistakes have been committed in the past and unresolved problems are naturally bound to exist." He compares the long periods of development from feudalism, through capitalism to socialism with the relatively short periods of socialist development—72 years in the Soviet Union and 45 years in the socialist countries—saying that it would certainly be asking too much from those countries if we should expect them to find perfect solutions for all problems at this early stage. "Life proved stronger than our wishes and aspirations. It is a difficult task to be pioneers of social development," Bonev adds. He further points out that "as Comrade Petur Mladenov, the new general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, emphasized in his speech, restructuring can be implemented solely within the framework of socialism, exclusively in the name of socialism, and only along the path of socialism." Bonev's statement ends with the remark, "The young generation is facing serious and responsible tasks, because restructuring is the cause and the fate of the young."

The second statement by Kostadin Andreev, BCP Central Committee member, "railroad engineer with many years of service," and Hero of Socialist Labor, entitled "The Whole Truth," comments on the plenum from the workers' point of view and blames "command-administrative methods and the investing of some people with excessive power" for "great damages" that were caused to the party. He praises the fact that the Politburo report was published in advance in the mass media as a great achievement of "glasnost" claiming that this is an unprecedented event in the history or BCP plenums. Andreev stresses the requirement for "discussions" and urges Bulgarian mass media to promptly react "when foreign radio stations are talking," instead of keeping silent and "waiting for instructions." He further states: "Ideological struggle should be waged with bold offensiveness, instead of practicing a wait-and-see policy." Andreev, finally, praises Petur Mladenov's election, stating that he is in favor of "young cadres in party leadership, and I think that Comrade Petur Mladenov's election was the best solution."

The third statement by Gospodin Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, leader of the Yuriy Gagarin Youth Labor Collective, and twice Hero of Socialist Labor, is entitled "Strength Is in Youth." It is almost entirely devoted to Petur Mladenov, expressing approval for his election and highly praising his speech at the 10 November Plenum. Yordanov pledges that he, who has been working for over 34 years in the construction sector, and the "boys of his brigade" shall do their best to support the party's new endeavors and points out that "the truth should always be spoken, because telling the truth will help us more easily to achieve our future goals." Yordanov ends by saying that he "greatly relies on young people" and approves the fact that "the party is also relying on them, because strength is in youth."

Health Care Restructuring Guidelines

AU0811173089 Sofia BTA in English 1457 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 8 (BTA)—Today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO runs the guidelines for the further restructuring of health services in Bulgaria which have been endorsed by the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

A deep restructuring in the sphere of health services is necessary at present, points out the document. This necessity is grounded by the appearance of new health problems due to demographic, urban and ecological processes, to techno-scientific progress, to the dynamics of the social relations. The existing problems in the organization, leadership and the level of health services also require an overall restructuring.

The guidelines note that the restructuring of health services requires new approaches to the health problems of the nation. The document focuses on the concern about the securing of a life which would be as much as possible free of risks concerning health, diseases, disability, a life with preserved and ever increasing physical and mental activity, with the opportunity characteristic for each age. This strategic orientation will be realized in four basic trends: provision of health through constant regular medical check-ups, broadening the opportunities of people to take care for their health by themselves, decisive decrease of disease spreading; increasing life expectancy through improvement of the way of life, decrease of infant mortality and the cases of untimely deaths in the different age groups; increasing individuals' normal working capacity through protection of their health as well as development of the physical and intellectual capacities; providing conditions for full-value life in the time of advanced age. The attention will be oriented not only toward the consequences of diseases and disability but also toward the reasons for their appearance. Special attention is paid to medical check-ups which must turn into constant concern of the councils, the companies and the other economic organizations, of the public organizations, sports organizations and clubs.

For more adequate use of technological achievements in the sphere of health care it is envisaged to built a modern information system in this sphere which would free the specialists of activities uncharacteristic for their qualification. Scientific teams and institutes will be developed.

It is said in the document that for the building of the new model in the health care activities priority significance has the establishment of a structure and an organization with capacities for rapid and efficient reaction to the dynamics of the changing health needs of the population. The social efficiency of expenditures should increase, input in the systems of health care and a unity of actions with the other bodies and structures of society should be provided for a purposeful solution of major health problems.

The need is considered for the building of a united and all-round complex for health service of the population which should include: the health centre, the family practitioner, the polyclinics, the hospital and the rehabilitation establishment.

In the health centre the first and most general medical aid will be rendered. A leading principle in the work of the medical centre will be the family dispensarization [as received] of the population. In this centre the ecological problems of the working and living environment will be solved, in which the population, the community and the local bodies and public organizations can participate. The medical centre of a new type will take care of the health of 1200-1500 people (as against 3000-3500 up till now).

The health centre will be serviced by the family practitioner or by a team of family practitioners. The family practitioner should know not only the health condition, but also the material status, the living conditions and the relations in the family. The citizens and their families will have the right to choose their family practitioner, including outside their territorial health care centre. The citizens will be able to choose their practitioner or health centre.

The polyclinic will be established as a basic unit at the forefront of health care. Its activity will be directed at the services of the family practitioners. The polyclinic will be established on the territorial principle. Under the new conditions it is turning into a highly qualified unit for specialized medical aid, for dispensarization of the population, for qualified dentist services, for first and urgent aid. The polyclinic will be the natural centre where the new types of individual and collective work of doctors and dentists will be widely used, who wish to work additionally against payments from the citizens.

All qualified medical workers will be able to practice individually and collectively their profession against payment from the citizens. At the same time the state guarantees the right of a free-of-charge and highly qualified medical care for the population.

The hospital will provide treatment in hospital conditions for the diseased, whose diagnostic and treatment cycle cannot be effectively closed in the conditions of the polyclinic. The network of hospital establishments will be built on the basis of socioeconomic and health and demographic criteria and not only on the basis of administrative and territorial division of the country. A major line in the development of the hospital network will be the intensification of the processes of diagnostics, treatment and rehabilitation. For that purpose two basic types of hospitals will be established for treatment of acute diseases and maintenance and recreational treatment, including of chronic patients.

After indicating that in future a leading principle in the building of the health network will remain the territorial principle, the document envisages also the development of health services on a production, age and branch principle. Special attention is rendered to the solution of the problems of the workers' health care, to the improvement of medical services of the population in the villages, to the care for protection and strengthening of the health of mothers and of the growing generations. A particularly important task is considered to be the expansion of the health network and the establishment of a new social organization of services for aged people, invalids and of children with unequal social and health state.

It is planned that the system for rendering of urgent medical aid be improved and the readiness will increase for prompt and efficient actions during natural calamities, production failures and other extreme conditions.

The basic trends for the further restructuring of health care considers the mechanisms of distribution of the means, for the planning of the financing of the health network. The party's policy will be directed at the substantial expansion of the sources and means. The state budget and the budget of the municipal councils in future, too, will keep their significance as basic financial

sources for expansion and modernization of the material and technical base of health care. The relative share will increase of the means, input by the communities and the regions in the building of health establishments and the maintenance of health establishments and their territory.

The document regulates the professional and social role of the doctor as a leading figure in health care. The issues are considered of the training of medical cadres, of the development of the medial science and fundamental medical and biological researches, of the need of a new approach to the structural and technological policy of health care.

Free Trade Zone Company Set Up in Plovdiv

AU0811191989 Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Plovdiv, November 8 (BTA)—The Plovdiv Free-Trade Zone Joint Stock Company was incorporated here today. Unlike the existing free-trade zones in this country, the Plovdiv free-trade zone will cover several industrial districts of the city. The industrial enterprises on the zone's territory will be entitled to form joint ventures with foreign natural persons and bodies corporate, to rent out land and warehouses and to render services enjoying all free-trade-zone privileges.

Eight enterprises with premises on the zone's territory entered the joint-stock company as founding members. The International Fair Enterprise will provide over 1,300 square metres of open-air and about 2,500 square metres of indoor warehouse area on the fairgrounds. The founding stockholders include the companies KAM, Trakia, Autotransport, and Perfumery and Cosmetics. The municipal people's council in Plovdiv is co-founder of the company.

Atanasov Receives PRC Minerals Minister

AU0811205889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov today received Zhu Xun, PRC minister of geology and mineral resources. During the talks they discussed the possibilities for developing cooperation between the two countries in the field of geology and and mineral resources.

Filipov, Delegation Leave for Prague Meeting

AU0811161489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] A Bulgarian party delegation led by Comrade Grisha Filipov departed for Prague today. The delegation will take part in the conference of secretaries on economic affairs of the central committees of fraternal parties from the CEMA member countries.

Consultations With Netherlands Held

AU0311210789 Sofia BTA in English 1854 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 3 (BTA)—The regular political consultations between the ministries of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and the Netherlands ended today.

The two sides made a thorough analysis of the condition of the bilateral relations. They were unanimous that the stable and goodwilled development of the relations in the economic and cultural sphere, which have good prospects, should be followed in the future by active high level political dialogue. The two sides analysed also the existing favorable tendencies in the relations between the European states.

Further Reportage on 15th Federal Assembly Session

Klicha Reports Military Cuts

LD1411202289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Deputy Jaroslav Klicha [chief of Political Main Administration of Czechoslovak People's Army] spoke today in the debate at the 15th session of the Federal Assembly about the implementation of the Council for State Defense's decision on the reduction of the number of personnel, arms, and organizational changes in the Czechoslovak People's Army.

He explained that to date six tank regiments have been withdrawn from combat readiness. The disbanding of the all-army (?formation composed of) reserve units has begun. So far 138 tanks have been liquidated. In the Air Force, a fighter regiment with support units has been disbanded and 51 planes have been taken out of operation.

The number of men in combat units will be reduced gradually in order to set up military construction organizations with a capacity of 18,000 servicemen, which will begin construction and production activities for the national economy beginning in 1991.

Jaroslav Klicha said that in the plans for the development of our Army, estimates and calculations are being done at present to reduce the basic military service to 18 months. This should be approved by the Federal Assembly next year. He stressed that this is a serious change but that the Army is able to cope with it. Its members are aware that next year will be extremely challenging. It will require a continuation of the transition from an emphasis on the quantity to the quality of troops, to the quality of their training and the quality of equipment, Jaroslav Klicha, deputy of the Federal Assembly said.

CTK Summarizes 14 Nov

LD1411221389 Prague CTK in English 2105 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 14 (CTK)—The first day of a Czechoslovak Federal Assembly session ended in a debate today.

Communist Party Deputy Jaroslav Klicha dealt with the practical implementation of the State Defence Council's decision of last January. He said that six regiments, an air force unit, and a special military formation have been exempted from the combat alert system. A total of 135 tanks and 51 aircraft were liquidated till today. A total of 18,000 Czechoslovak Army soldiers will be gradually transferred to building organisations.

Communist Party Deputy Vlastimil Barus analysed the unfavourable situation in ecological investments. He voiced the demand that the right and the duty of an individual, a work team and whole society to behave in harmony with the goal of a gradual improvement of the environment should be stressed in the prepared bill on the environment.

Communist Party Deputy Anton Hlavac praised the active stand of the Czechoslovak Government at the CMEA bodies' talks. He stressed that the different opinions of several member states, or not always consistent solutions to certain problems should not become a reason for thoughtless criticism of the CMEA. He underlined the necessity of realising the principle of mutual advantageousness in the international division of labour.

Communist Party Deputy Otto Trefny spoke about health care in Czechoslovakia, stating that the results in this field within the past fifteen years are not satisfactory. In comparison with other European states, Czechoslovakia ranks among the worst in e.g. the average life expectancy, infant mortality rate, sickness rate, cardivovascular diseases, cancer and others. The only viable way of halting the unsatisfactory trend in the health condition of the Czehcoslovak population is to create an effective nationwide system involving also the approach of the people to their own health, he said.

Adamec Closes Session

LD1411223189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Excerpts] A session of the Federal Assembly was held in Prague today. It was addressed by Premier Ladislav Adamec. [passage omitted] At the end of the session, Comrade Ladislav Adamec spoke again. He answered deputies questions. He said, among other things:

[Begin Adamec recording] We are introducing restructuring under conditions characterized by an imbalance in our internal and external economy. Thus, the start is becoming very complex. For this, we need peace, order, and full mutual trust. We are all striving for it.

We are preparing the ninth 5-year plan very systematically. Its main aim is to establish a balanced economy. However, this cannot be established without enormous structural changes. Structural changes in the ninth 5-year plan will be greater than at any time in the 40 years of the Czechoslovak economy. They will involve thousands of people, they will require a very sensitive, true, and honest approach, and they will require enormous support on the part of the Federal Assembly deputies. In December we shall have at our disposal the first variant. We shall assess it in the government, and next year we shall submit proposals to the Federal Assembly so that it will be informed about our intentions in good time.

The criticism made in this Assembly concerning wages and tax problems is justified. We are assessing the taxes policy. However, the contents of this proposal are unacceptable to us. That is why we returned it and believe that further work must be done on the materials. The current system of taxes is obsolete. We must change it so

that it will correspond to today's situation. We know that taxes are among those things which are of immediate concern to the people.

As for drawing from the wages funds, I have already said once in this building that the federal government this year can influence a reduction in inflation in two ways: by introducing order in the investment construction and by preventing disorder in the wages funds. If we continue to pay out money for unfinished products, for bad products, nobody will halt inflation in this country. That is why the entire government carries this responsibility on its shoulders, and hence this care and attention to the problems of the wages funds. It is not easy!

Our government highly praises the working people in our agricultural sector. Without their honest work, the internal market situation would not even be as it is now. Agricultural workers indeed are improving the stablity of the economy, as well as stability regarding the satisfaction of the people. However, the Czechoslovak economy spends Kcs 90 billion a year on subsidies. Out of this, 60 billion goes to agriculture and the food industry. I have heard people say that the entire world subsidizes agriculture and food. Yes, the whole world, so we shall also subsidize. However, the question is whether or not we can afford to spend so much on these subsidies. I do not think so. I think that we have to assess these things. I said here in Parliament that the policy of subsidies will be submitted for assessment to the Federal Assembly. Why, 60 billion is worth discussing, but not as a means of lowering the living standard of the farmers, but as a means of introducing order in agricultural production.

We set out a principle of unity and mutual interdependence of political and economic reforms in our program statement. This did not meet with understanding everywhere. There are still ideas to the effect that first we must put the economy in order and then we shall look into politics; or that, as distinct from radical changes in the economic sphere, nothing substantial needs to be changed in the political sphere. How do we assess these matters in 1 year, on the basis of our own experiences? We believe that economic progress cannot be removed from political progress. Economic reform cannot be successful without political reform. Under our specific conditions, political changes should even have a certain priority. Without freeing the space for implementing creative initiative and the entrepreneurial creativity of thousands of enterprises and millions of citizens, we will not go forward. At the preent time it is not sufficient just to make promises and to postpone things for the future; we must start implementing things at once.

The truth is that implementing government resolutions and directives depends on the people, on their approach and interests. The best of legal amendments, directives, or plans will remain on paper only if people do not implement them. We have seen this many times in the past. The current complex situation can be resolved only with the help of the people, on the condition that they have the necessary trust in the central organs, that they are convinced about the qualified and just nature of our decisons, and about the ability of the management to execute the role entrusted to them.

The requirements of the public for high professional ability and competence of the state apparatus are considered correct by us. Those people who do not have the right abilities cannot be successful, and we will have to part with them. I know that it is our affair, but not only ours. Without the sufficient authority of all the links of the political system—the CPCZ, the National Front, and the state organs—one cannot count on the necessary support of the people.

The old administrative, directive management mechanism did not have to worry so much about this problem. Often agreement, passive adjustment, and obedience were all that was basically necessary. Today we want much more: independence, personal initiative, and personal responsibility. Nothing of this can be ordered from above, but favorable conditions can be created for this by means of democratization. That is why in the government's documents, in the addresses of our representatives, we call with such urgency for an exchange of views, creative and permanent dialogue with citizens.

The very nature of economic reform stems from the support of the various interest groups among the working people. One cannot just acknowledge this; one has to create the necessary political prerequisites for everyone to have sufficient possibilities and opportunities for open manifestation of their interests and views. If we limit it only to traditional, often formalized, and for many people not very attractive forms, we shall not win the support of the people. In this case, however, the program of restructuring the economic mechanism will remain a mere slogan and will not bring the required results. [end recording]

That was the winding-up speech by Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec. After that, the deputies adopted a resolution supporting the government's efforts to implement its program statement. They promised help in implementing the main intentions of our further development.

At the conclusion of the 1st day of the 15th joint meeting of the two chambers, the deputies discussed and adopted the bill on a unified system of social and economic information. In the first stage of economic restructuring, it will create the conditions for operative processing and utilization of statistical data in the economy of the National Committees. The 15th joint meeting of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of the Nations of the Federal Assembly will continue tomorrow.

Foreign Minister on Dam Projects

LD1611000889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The 15th joint session of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly has ended in Prague.

Our correspondents Lubos Lidicky and Roman Zamboch report on today's deliberations:

[Unidentified reporter] Today's agenda for the deliberations can be characterized as legislative. The deputies discussed and approved nine government bills and international agreements and conventions. [passage omitted] Among other things, deputies discussed and approved international agreements and conventions on legal aid and the amendment of legal relations on civil, family, and criminal cases between Czechoslovakia and the GDR, as well as between Czechoslovakia and the Republic of Hungary. For instance, the agreement with our southern neighbors was widely discussed, and especially some unilateral steps taken by the Hungarian side, which caused concern in Czechoslovakia: halting the construction of the Nagymaros level of the hydroworks system on the Danube. In this context, Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes, who made a case for a report put forward on this subject, briefed the deputies as follows:

[Begin Johanes recording] At the end of October this year, the National Assembly of the Republic of Hungary authorized the Hungarian Government to begin talks on changing the agreement on the construction and running of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of hydroworks in the sense that the construction of the Nagymaros level will be abandoned.

In this way it rejected in practice an appeal by the CSSR Federal Assembly to the representative bodies of both countries to support a successful completion of the joint project. As far as we are concerned, during the whole time when this problem has been discussed, we have shown and continue to show patience, maximum effort, and goodwill to reach a solution acceptable to both sides. Our government is prepared to conclude an agreement on ecological and other guarantees regarding the running of the Gabcikovo level, providing it is built as stated in the orginal agreement. We respond constructively to those troubled voices which are being heard in the Republic of Hungary in connection with the ecological consequences of the construction. For us, too, the optimal solution of ecological questions is of principled significance. Nevertheless, the Hungarian side has not put forward in talks up to now new arguments for which the agreement of 1977 should be changed.

Our standpoint, based also on the conclusions of the CSSR Academy of Sciences and Slovak Academy of Sciences, is that it is necesary to insist on the fulfillment of this agreement on the implementation of which the Czechoslovak side has spent hundreds of millions of Korunas. We will naturally demand compensation for all damages inflicted on us by the nonfulfillment of valid agreement obligations, regarding both Nagymaros and Gabcikovo. These obligations cannot be canceled by a unilateral decision because there is a need to observe agreements consistently.

The further specific course to be taken in this matter will be discussed by the federal government before the end of November this year. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Interior Minister Clarifies Travel Regulations

LD1511210689 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] You have shown special interest in a passage dealing with foreign travel, above all the simplification of administration, in the speech delivered yesterday by comrde Ladislav Adamec to the Federal Assembly. We have asked comrade Frantisek Kincl, federal minister of the interior, what will happen to travel documents in the future.

[Begin recording] [Kincl] Drafts amending the regulation on travel documents and trips of Czechoslovak citizens abroad are ready. Among other things, they include the abolishment of exit visas [Vyjezdni dolozka], which will be replaced by a simple statistical card. It will also be possible for Czechoslovak citizens to travel to Yugoslavia via Austria and to Bulgaria via Yugoslavia and so on.

[Unidentified correspondent] When will these changes come into effect?

[Kincl] We think these changes will come into effect before the new tourist season, that is, in the course of the first quarter of next year. [end recording]

Bill on Right To Strike Explained

AU1511123989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with Jiri Neubert, secretary of the Central Trade Union Council, by unidentified CTK and PRACE correspondents: "On the Draft Law on Collective Disputes"—date and place not given]

[Text] Prague—Members of Czech National Council and Slovak National Councils committees are currently discussing the draft law on collective disputes. In the coming weeks, the draft law will be considered by Federal Assembly committees. It should go into force at the beginning of next year (provided it is passed by the CSSR Federal Assembly). The bill was introduced by a group of deputies from the ranks of leading functionaries of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH]. In connection with the discussion of this bill, CTK and PRACE correspondents asked Jiri Neubert, deputy and secretary of the Central Trade Union Council [URO], a member of the group which introduced the bill, for some details.

[Question] What were the motives for the introduction of the bill?

[Neubert] First of all: As early as 1968, Czechoslovakia signed an international convention on economic, social, and cultural rights, under which the signatories are obliged to guarantee the right to strike. However, the implementation of this right has not been codified in our legislation so far. We therefore believe that it is correct,

in harmony with the process of democratization and with the development of the socialist state based on the rule of law, to enshrine this socioeconomic right of the working people in our legal code. It cannot be ruled out—and practical life confirms this—that even under the socialist social system strikes can occur, and it is therefore desirable to regulate in the legal sense ways of dealing with them. It also needs to be realized that the legal powers of state enterprises are being significantly enhanced in conjunction with the restructuring of the economic mechanism. Enterprises will operate on the principle of self-financing, and it cannot be ruled out that some economic agencies or management staffs will show technocratic and bureaucratic approaches to the legitimate interests of the working people. This is why the working people should avail themselves of adequate means for coping with possible conflicts.

[Question] A strike is the most extreme solution, a solution which means, inter alia, losses for the entire national economy. What procedures have been proposed to forestall a strike?

[Neubert] Experience from other socialist countries demonstrates what huge losses can be caused to the national economy by strikes and what consequences they entail for the living standards of the working people. This is why the submitted draft puts the stress mainly on the prevention of strikes. A strike should be called only if all other possibilities offered by socialist democracy fail, possibilities allowing the working people to deal with conflicting situations within the framework of their participation in management. I am thinking, in particular, of the rights of trade unions arising from Law No. 37 of 1959 and from the Labor Code. This is why the draft contains the recommendation that, prior to calling a strike, everything conceivable should be done to settle the dispute by negotiations. Specifically, the calling of a strike should be preceded by negotiations between the trade unions, as the organization which represents the labor collective, and the economic management. The next obligatory step to enter into the game would be the institution of so-called arbitration proceedings. It is assumed that participants in them would be, on the one hand, representatives of the labor collective, represented primarily by the trade union organization, and the economic management on the other. The arbitration commission would also have the right to invite to the proceedings representatives of higher trade union bodies, as well as representatives of the higher economic or state bodies. If the labor dispute is not settled even then, the labor collective can decide to enter into a strike. However, to do so it will require the consent of the higher trade union body. As is customary in a state which is based on the rule of law, the court, too, can enter the game and decide whether the strike is legal or not.

[Question] Under the submitted draft, who can act as the organizer of a strike?

[Neubert] The draft envisages that the right to call a strike be the prerogative of trade unions. Hence, only an ROH body can be the organizer of a strike. This is the case in the overwhelming majority of countries in which the right to strike is legally codified. Looking at it from this angle, the submitted draft law can be regarded as a certain expansion of trade union rights. However, at the same time it increases the political and economic responsibility of trade unions vis-a-vis labor collectives as well as vis-a-vis our socialist society at large.

[Question] How does the draft define cases or professional domains in which a strike must not be called?

[Neubert] The draft law envisages the impermissibility of strikes of a political nature, aimed at changing the socialist social system. It also specifies the range of national economic branches and sectors in which a work stoppage would have serious consequences for the state's security or for the vital interests of citizens, or in which a strike would cause serious problems to the national economy. It specifically rules out strikes by members of the Armed Forces and other armed units, by members of fire brigades and rescue squads, as well as by employees in the defense industry and chemical production. A strike will not be permissible in branches that guarantee supplies of staple foods, electricity, water, heat, and gas to the population, in communications, health and social care establishments, in the Czechoslovak State Railroads and [other] railroad organizations, as well as in organizations ensuring regular mass city, road, water, and air transportation. We took into consideration the legal regulation of the impermissibility of strikes in other countries, but we mainly proceeded from our own conditions. As for the extent of the impermissibility of strikes, I would say that the recommendations mentioned in the bill concern a more narrow circle of employees than is customary in most countries. It is only a draft, however, and it is the right of the legislative body, in this case of the Federal Assembly, to amend it.

[Question] In drawing up the bill, did you consider the views of the working people and their trade union organizations?

[Neubert] Of course. The draft resulted from consultation with trade union bodies and their functionaries, as well as with some large ROH enterprise organizations. It met with support, although doubts were sporadically expressed as to whether the adoption of such a law is expedient, since we have survived without one for 40 years. I believe that the motives that led to the introduction of the bill and which I have already discussed respond to these doubts.

[Question] Does URO envisage the establishment of a fund from which strikers would receive support?

[Neubert] The establishment of a strike fund is envisaged. Logically, it is impossible to demand that the strikers be financed by the state or by economic organizations. The proposal to set up such a fund will be discussed by the URO Presidium in the very near future. The fund should be sustained from trade union resources, which does not rule out the possibility of

contributions—on a voluntary basis, self-evidently—by other organizations, collectives, as well as individuals. Of course, the provision of social payments from this fund can scarcely be considered to be obligatory and to offset the foregone earnings. The trade unions do not avail themselves of resources on such a scale.

[Question] What consequences can participation in a strike have for the working people?

[Neubert] It is being recommended that participation in a strike called in harmony with the proposed law be treated as excused absence from the workplace. In the event of a strike which would be at variance with the law, we propose that the absence of participants in such a strike from their workplace be qualified as absence without a valid excuse, with all the wage and social consequences arising from this.

Assembly, Association Bill Explained

AU1511174389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Nov 89 p 5

[Report on interview with LLD Vladimir Flegl, deputy chairman of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Rostislav Valasek: "Legislative Suggestions of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public; What Is Allowed, and What Is Not"—date and place not given]

[Text] As we have already reported, at the 9 November session of the Presidium of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation its members became acquainted with the draft of the principles of the laws on the right of assembly and association, as initiated by the committee and which its members then approved. On Friday, 10 November, committee representatives handed the document over to the Federal Premier. We spoke with LLD Vladimir Flegl, candidate of sciences, deputy chairman of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public, about the reasons which led the committee to take this step and about the content of the draft of the two laws' principles.

[Valasek] Did you choose the forum of the Federal Government and the presentation in person of the draft principles of the laws to add greater weight to the committee's initiative?

[Flegl] The CSSR Constitution defines in detail both the range of constitutional bodies and officials who are authorized to submit draft laws to legislative bodies. Through long-standing legislative practice, in almost all cases new legislation has been initiated by the government. In addition, because the legal regulation of the right of assembly and association belongs to the sphere of the Federal Government's activity, the committee submitted suggestions pertaining to that problem to Comrade Adamec, who is in charge of the supreme organ of state power in the CSSR.

[Valasek] Why did you concentrate on the rights of assembly and associations when they are enshrined in the Constitution?

[Flegl] You are right, but in our opinion the execution of those rights is not properly legally codified. We have also been led to the decision to propose the issuance of new laws by the assessment of last January's events in Prague. We have decided to work out in the committee a draft of principles of the right of assembly and association. We have informed the Federal Premier of this intention, and he welcomed this endeavor of ours and asked us to work out a draft of a concrete legal amendment. The background material was prepared by the committee's section for human rights, and the committee's plenary session thoroughly discussed it. The suggestions and recommendations of its members were incorporated in the draft, and thus the final version reflects the standpoint of the entire Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, that is, it is not the result of the work of only a narrow circle of experts.

[Valasek] To what extent were you inspired by the international obligations in the area of human rights, with which the CSSR identifies?

[Flegl] The results of the Helsinki conference and the subsequent meetings—as regards human rights—can be seen in the growing political activity both of legal organizations and, especially, groups that have not been legalized. According to our valid law it is necessary for the appropriate legal body to approve the statutes of a nascent organization. In the past period we witnessed gatherings of citizens at the instigation of groups that not always pursue the generally recognized comprehensive social goals and interests of our socialist political system. However, this state of affairs must be regulated by the law in such a way as to exactly delineate what a citizen—in accordance with law—is allowed to do, and what not; and, should he violate the law, he also must know what consequences to expect.

[Valasek] And the existing laws do not make this possible?

[Flegl] We have analyzed in the committee the currently valid legislation on the right of assembly and association and have come to the conclusion that although in their totality the laws and other legal regulations create the scope for adherence by our citizens, they were introduced under quite different domestic and international conditions, as can be seen from the adoption of the laws in 1951, 1968, and 1979. After all, then it was the reaction to a specific intrastate and international situation. In addition, legal regulations delineating the right to assembly and association are literally scattered through many collections [of laws].

[Valasek] Do citizens have the opportunity to acquaint himself with them?

[Flegl] The laws which delineate these rights have been published in the Collection of Laws. His might be the only document accessible to every citizen without problems. Decrees have been published in UREDNI LIST [Official Gazeteer] and UREDNI VESTNIK [Official Bulletin], and the regulations of the national committees in their collections. Not even I own them. When I need them for my work, I must go to the library. These regulations are almost inaccessible to citizens.

[Valasek] Do you think that old laws are bad laws?

[Flegl] Not at all. I could even cite many examples of old Czechoslovak laws which are inspiring for the present, laws which managed to clearly define what is allowed and what is forbidden. And this is very important, just as important as that the language of the letter of the law be comprehensible to everyone. There is yet one more important aspect which forced us to propose changes. Under the international legal obligations undertaken by the CSSR, the execution of the right of assembly and association can only be restricted by law, and not by decrees, directives, and the like. The international convention on civil and human rights concedes the possibility of exceptions that are essential. Let me quote: "In a democratic society [exceptions are possible] in the interest of national security or public order, protection of public health or ethics, or protection of the rights and liberties of others."

[Valasek] What constitutes public order and what does not?

[Flegl] In the state bodies' theory and practice, the term public order is sufficiently clarified. Speaking in very general terms, I would describe it as a moral and political state on a given territory, in which state bodies can discharge their functions undisturbed and in which citizens, on the one hand, observe generally accepted rules of conduct in the public and, on the other, can exercise their rights and fulfill their duties. One can scarcely speak of public order when a situation prevents me from visiting cultural events free of fear, from going to and from work, when citizens cannot attend to their official matters, when mothers cannot take their children to the nursery or kindergarten without anxiety, and so forth. It is evident from what I have said that the pedestrian zone in Prague, for example, is absolutely unsuitable as a venue for demonstrations.

[Valasek] What are your ideas with regard to the right of association?

[Flegl] In the association law, the committee recommends the introduction of obligatory registration with the relevant state body of all associations that are characterized as social and special interest organizations. This state body should be obliged to approve the registration, unless the statutes of the association run counter to the Constitution or laws, regardless of whether associations involved in similar activities exist already. Should the state body ascertain that the association is engaged in activities that run counter to the law, we propose that, first, this discrepancy be called to the association's attention and that, if no corrective action is taken, the association be disbanded.

Persons continuing to engage in such activity should be called to account, in accordance with the relevant laws—the disciplinary law, the law on misdemeanors, the criminal code, and the like. As a new element we propose that in the event of the registration being turned down or in the event of disbandment, the organization should be able to ask for a reexamination of this ruling by the superior administrative body or by the court.

[Valasek] Are you thinking of administrative courts, as we know them from history?

[Flegl] Administrative courts were abolished in Czechoslovakia as institutions in 1951, whereas in most other European countries they were retained. In our country they were abolished in connection with the introduction of the prosecuting bodies' surveillance over compliance with the law and over the activity of state administration bodies. Even today district and regional courts review some administrative acts, such as decisions on pensions, and the like. It is crucial, in my opinion, that the lawfulness of administrative acts be reviewed by an independent court, and I think that it is irrelevant how this activity will be organized. The best thing would probably be to use the existing court structure for this purpose and not to establish a new one.

[Valasek] What are the rights of foreigners in Czechoslovakia, as far as association is concerned?

[Flegl] Foreign nationals living in the CSSR have the right of association on the basis of the highly modern "Law on the Terms of Activity of Organizations With an International Element in the CSSR" of 1985. They can also be members of those Czechoslovak social organizations, the statutes of which permit it.

[Valasek] Could you also reveal what changes you propose concerning the possibilities for citizens to assemble or, to put it more simply, the possibility to demonstrate, to hold rallies and meetings?

[Flegl] We propose, above all, that the right to call a gathering should be granted only to Czechoslovak citizens, state bodies, the CSSR, Czech, and Slovak National Fronts and their bodies, political parties, state social and special interest organizations, as well cooperatives and their bodies. The existing law does not contain such a specification.

Because a large number of foreigners work or study in our country, it should also be made possible for a social organization associating foreigners and operating on the basis of Czechoslovak laws to call a gathering. At other gatherings, foreigners could appear [vystoupit] only with the explicit consent of the organizer of the event. This rule is applied in all democratic and civilized states and follows from the principle of noninterference in the

internal affairs of sovereign states, as embodied in the documents of the Helsinki Conference, in the sixth principle of the Final Act.

We propose, furthermore, that the duty be retained to announce in writing the holding of the gathering, its venue, time, and aims. If the Assembly runs counter to the security interests of the state, the protection of public health or ethics, or the protection of the rights and liberties of other citizens and, naturally, if it runs counter to its announced aim, it is possible to ban it.

We propose, furthermore, that the possibility be provided to prevent the negative influence of assemblies on the activity of legislative bodies, that is, the CSSR Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak National Councils. The national committee should have the right to forbid assemblies which are to take place in public places close to premises where legislative bodies meet. This restriction should apply to the time of sessions of these legislative bodies, their chambers, or their Presidiums. At issue is, in essence, the taking over of regulations which were valid in Czechoslovakia until 1951 and which also acquitted themselves well during the bourgeois republic. However, at that time there was an absolute ban on gatherings near the Chamber and the Senate of the National Assembly even at the time of their committees' sessions, which was the case virtually all year around. Similar regulations are in force in the majority of European countries, often with a far more accentuated restriction of the right of assembly.

[Valasek] Do you think that the proposals of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public [for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation] will be taken into account by legislative bodies?

[Flegl] We understand our initiative as an impetus and a suggestion for further legislative steps. We want to contribute to a modern and future-oriented legal codification of issues which concern the interests of all strata of our society, as well as to the enactment of basic human rights and liberties in the spirit of our international legal obligations.

[Valasek] Should you not succeed, will you continue your efforts?

[Flegl] Yes, we will. A relatively extensive amendment of the penal code is being planned, which touches upon the issue of human rights. The committee decided that it will take a stand on legal provisions concerning, in particular, the inviolability of the person, the freedom of movement and abode, the freedom of speech, and the like. In addition, the committee intends to deliver its opinion on the planned law on holding a person in custody.

[Valasek] Is the adoption of the laws [on the right of assembly and association] conditional on the approval of the new Constitution, which is now being drafted?

[Flegl] In principle, a new legal codification of the right of assembly and association is possible even under the currently valid CSSR Constitution. But there is no doubt that the work on the Constitution will also influence the concepts of laws regulating the exercise of basic civil rights and liberties.

[Valasek] The question often being raised in this context is whether we are or are not a state based on the rule of law.

[Flegl] For some lawyers but also laymen, the phrase state based on the rule of law has recently become a slogan. In my opinion, it diverts attention from topical legislative problems. We do not need any repetition of the rehashed and conflicting theories about the law-governed state. What we need is to adopt in due course good, realistic, comprehensible, and effective laws—laws which would even anticipate social changes. However, the main thing is to enact and comply with valid laws and to consistently draw conclusions from their violation. As far as the legal status of citizens and their rights and duties are concerned, it is necessary to make sure that they are set out in detail, comprehensibly, and in a legally binding way in laws, and nowhere else. However, a law in itself is not enough, no matter how brilliantly written it may be. The crucial thing is its enactment in everyday life. The citizens must know and see that the constitutional principle of equal rights and equal duties for all citizens is uncompromisingly respected and that valid laws apply to everyone.

[Valasek] Thank you for the interview.

3 Acquitted, 1 Sentenced in Subversion Trial

LD1411215589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] The public trial at the Bratislava City Court of Miroslav Kusy, Hana Solcova-Ponicka, Anton Selecky, and Vladimir Manak ended today. The defendant Miroslav Kusy was found guilty of the crime harming the interets of the republic abroad and sentenced to deprivation of freedom for 8 months, suspended conditionally for 14 months. The defendants Hana Solcova-Ponicka, Anton Selecky, and Vladimir Manak were acquitted of the offence.

Prague Authorities To Allow Student Rally 17 Nov

AU1511180589 Paris AFP in English 1723 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 15 (AFP)—Authorities here have given permission for students to hold a demonstration in memory of the victims of the first open rebellion against the Nazi occupation of the country, university sources said Wednesday [15 November].

But they gave their approval only after university officials agreed to alter the planned route of the demonstration Friday in order to bypass the city center, the sources said.

The students had originally hoped to retrace the route of the funeral procession for Jan Opletal, a medical student who was one of two people killed during the uprising against the Nazis on October 28, 1939.

Mr. Opletal's death led to the closing of universities in Czechoslovakia and the funeral procession had passed through the center of Prague to the main train station.

Nine Prague university faculties voted to change the route of the demonstration while seven voted against, in informed source said.

Stepan, Fojtik Speak at Student Aktiv

AU1511181589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Nov 89 pp 1,2

[Nada Adamickova and Zdenek Zavodny report: "Education Is Not a Meal Ticket but a Prerequisite; An Aktiv of Student-Communists From Prague's Colleges"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent and CTK)—An all-city aktiv of communist students from Prague's colleges, in which pedagogues, rectors, deans, the chairmen of party organizations, and the representatives of youth organizations participated, was held on Monday [13 November] in the Congress Hall of the Palace of Culture in Prague.

In his opening address, Comrade Miroslav Stepan commented on the tasks of the program of nationwide restructuring and democratization, a program for improving the efficiency of socialism and for increasing its overall appeal. This program has its international counterparts. The Soviet Union and the CPSU have an unparalleled place in it.

He said that these tasks involve socialist reforms, whose requirement is the extensive democratization of the National Front's political system, a system which proceeds from our Czechoslovak conditions and traditions and which completely relies on them, just as it relied on everything objectively general during the construction and strengthening of socialism.

We are implementing restructuring on the firm foundations of what has been carried out in the past. At the same time, no one is concealing the fact that we have not done everything well. However, it is impossible to permit the frivolous degradation and denial of the past. At present, the party is undergoing a true renewal of its political functions and is involved in activating the entire society's creative forces. This is a difficult process involving the sifting out of opinions and the exchange of experiences, a process in which the pluralism of views and interests is becoming a natural enrichment of policy. Thus, as has already been stated on other occasions, it is impossible to divide the road forward from the needs for sincere dialogue with all those who want to participate in this process on the basis of the Constitution, those for whom the future of socialism is very important, and those who want to specifically contribute to its further development.

Ferment is taking place in colleges, in culture, and in the whole superstructure, ferment in the broadest sense of the word. However, it is difficult to conduct constructive discussion on the street or with outside help and under slogans for democratization permitting disintegration.

Comrade Stepan then went on to discuss the Prague municipal party organization's tasks. The main aspects and goals of Prague's socioeconomic development especially concern the intensification process for the development of Prague's economy; its structural changes; a significant improvement in the commercial, services, and health care spheres; a decisive turnaround in shaping and protecting the environment; formulating the new principles of the housing policy; improving political and educational work; and the moral renewal of society's values.

When he talked about the principles of the housing policy in Prague, he referred to the results of an individual survey into the use of apartments in the capital city, a survey that was motivated by the municipal party conference. College students also participated in carrying out this survey, something for which they deserve our gratitude. The survey has fulfilled its purpose in revealing the existence of empty apartments, but it has also highlighted considerable disorder in the management of housing resources and in the registration of inhabitants. Specific results: As of 31 December 1988, there were 3,177 unoccupied apartments administered by the national committees; 1,222 unused apartments in family homes; 460 unused apartments in records kept by housing associations; and 941 apartments were being used for purposes other than housing—this means that to date 5,800 unused apartments were registered in Prague. A survey into the legitimacy of the use of apartments is still continuing. We will not put up with disorder, stressed M. Stepan.

The municipal party organization has also declared an uncompromising war on all negative phenomena, including illegal foreign currency manipulation, alcoholism, and drug addiction.

Positive results have been achieved in the struggle against speculation and foreign currency criminal activities. A specialized working team has been established, and, on the basis of its activity, a total of 930 persons were detained—of these 328 were foreigners—on suspicion of foreign currency and speculative criminal activities. Approximately Kcs1.6 million in foreign currency, Kcs2.5 million, and Kcs75,000 in Tuzex vouchers was confiscated. Illegal speculation in foreign currency and Tuzex vouchers has been significantly suppressed in public areas due to this activity. However, we are aware that this problem, which has negative moral and political consequences, has not been completely resolved. Measures not only on a repressive level but also on a

legislative level are necessary but, first and foremost, a promising solution in the economic sphere is needed.

In another part of his speech, M. Stepan said that a general plan for the development of Prague's tertiary education is being prepared. It will be put forward for discussion both to the party organizations and to the people involved in tertiary education.

The speaker later dealt with shortcomings in the quality and efficiency of the preparation of graduates from colleges and secondary schools. He said that these shortcomings not only proceed from insufficient standards and work in schools, but are also caused by neglect in motivating students to become as proficient as possible in the profession for which they are being prepared. This is also caused by the fact that the authority of education and qualifications is not, in practice, well enough appreciated because we do not promulgate it sufficiently enough. Young people get it into their heads that absolutely different criteria apply—protection, bribery, obvious political involvement, and so on, and they sneak away to mediocrity and lack of interest.

Therefore, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] City Committee's session has placed communists involved in the administration of enterprises and institutions under an obligation to take more care of graduates. The decision was adopted as a specific minimum program to assert in the administration of Prague economic organizations and state enterprises a differentiated approach toward incorporating graduates from secondary schools and colleges into individual workplaces and positions—depending on the results achieved in their studies—to evaluate their work from time to time and to flexibly react to this in remuneration and inclusion in new workplaces. Education is not a meal ticket but a prerequisite. Each individual's results must be a determining factor.

Democratic elements are being reestablished in administering colleges and faculties. The authority to manage and approve scientific councils is increasing, management is being significantly decentralized, and the colleges' authority is increasing. The competitive system for filling college teachers' vacant positions and for filling administration functions in colleges will be enhanced. The introduction of regular assessments and working conditions, conditions linked to the results of assessments for a period specific to college teachers is being considered.

Our party's program is clear, said M. Stepan. It means more democracy and more socialism. The more resolute and politically stronger the party is, the more demanding are the goals we can set and the more difficult are the tasks we can fulfill.

If we reflect on the aforementioned facts for the policy of restructuring in Prague and if we add our shortcomings to this, shortcomings that persist in the superstructure sphere, we come to the conclusion that it is necessary to do more to alter the atmosphere of indifference, apathy, discontent, and mistrust.

Therefore, we cannot and do not want to conceal the fact that some of the inhabitants of Prague, under the influence of Western centers, the psychological war, and Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, and BBC broadcasts, are succumbing to mistrust and skepticism and that they allow themselves to be captivated and abused for provocative and antistate acts organized by various illegal groups.

Therefore, at present it is necessary to develop our efforts to wield the party organizations together and to unite and activate the working collectives around them so that they are capable of independently distinguishing and confronting the various antisocialist pamphlets and so that a creative working spirit prevails everywhere, said Miroslav Stepan.

In conclusion, M. Stepan referred to the revolutionary legacy of 17 November.

The aktiv's participants had an opportunity to turn to the party and state representatives with their questions. Most of them were directed at Comrade Jan Fojtik. They concerned the attitude toward religion, the CSSR's federal arrangement, an evaluation of the 1950's, the party's leading role, cadre problems, the CPCZ Central Committee's attitude to the illegal groups, and other spheres. Concerning the attitude toward religion and the possibilities for expanding atheist education, Comrade Fojtik said that the introduction of the independent subject of scientific atheism is not being considered. However, we require a matter-of-fact knowledge of religion and religious issues so people know what it is about, that they have an overall view of it, and can form their own opinion. On the matter of the federation's existence, he emphasized that this is a great historical fact and is an ideal expression of the union between Czechs and Slovaks. In reference to the 1950's, he said that the party leadership will not keep silent about the illegal phenomena that took place at that time. This is a sensitive issue and a specific evaluation of it should appear in the prepared history of the CPCZ. He stressed that we are not keeping the truth from people, but it would not be right if something was made out of these pages of history, which cast shadows on the whole of our history.

Some questions concerned the capital city's development, especially the environment. Jiri Klima, the deputy mayor of Prague, replied to them. He said today no one is hiding the fact that Prague has many indicators even worse than the North Bohemia region. In reply to a question concerning specific steps to improve the situation, he referred to the construction of the Malesice incinerator, the effluent treatment plants, the city's conversion to gas, and other projects. Referring to the data on atmospheric pollution, he commented on the significance of the monitoring system and the Prague National Committee's announcements on unfavorable climatic conditions.

Miloslav Dockal, Jana Synkova, Miroslav Toman, and Jan Pjescak also participated in the aktiv.

Jakes Visits IUS Headquarters in Prague

LD1511213189 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The International Union of Students [IUS], an organization which has 40 million members—almost two-thirds of all students in the world—is headquartered in Prague. [passage omitted]

On the 50th anniversary of 17 November 1939, the origin of the impetus for the birth of the IUS, the headquarters were visited by Comrade Milos Jakes. Accompanied by comrades Mironslav Stepan and Vasil Mohorita, he learned among other things about the use of modern computer technology to speed up language translations and the IUS' publishing activities. He also met with foreign and Czechoslovak staff of the Secretariat. [passage omitted]

Comrade Jakes praised the IUS' activity, which plays an important role in the people's diplomacy for a safer and more just world. In replies to questions from those present about the progress of restructuring in our country, he stressed among other things the need for more frequent discussion between left-wing forces in the world, the need to demonstrate a joint approach. If everyone is interested only in his own problems and does not look at what neighbors are doing, this will not serve the future very much. One country acting alone cannot do anything.

He stressed the fact that restructuring in our country is being done in such a way as to avoid chaos: We do not reckon with privatization, we do not intend to liquidate agricultural cooperatives or to invite Western economists to manage our enterprises. However, we have to rid ourselves of all that which has outlived itself, that which does not serve restructuring.

Concerning legal aspects, not everything has yet been aligned with international practice. We are, however, working on new laws and a new Constitution. Its draft is almost finished and will be submitted for public debate, probably in the first months of 1990.

RUDE PRAVO Views Youth Distrust of Party

AU1011124489

[Editorial Report] Under the headline "The Party and the Youth, the Youth and the Party," Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 9 November, page 3, carries a 3,600-word transcript of a roundtable discussion dealing with "the attitude of young people to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], current policy, and developments in society as such." The place and date of the discussion, which was moderated by RUDE PRAVO staff journalists Vlastimil Bradac and Eva Louckova, are not given. The panelists include Vasil Mohorita, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chairman of the Socialist Youth Union (SSM) Central Committee; Jan Riaz, deputy head of a CPCZ Central Committee department; as well as representatives of local party and SSM organizations and a sociologist. The discussion was held in connection with the SSM's national conference, to be held in Prague on 11 and 12 November.

In his statements in the discussion, Vasil Mohorita discusses, inter alia, the SSM's changing attitude to the party. He says: "The youth union is exposed to a number of influences and pressures brought to bear upon it by its members, young people standing outside the organization, as well as various forces that are trying to infiltrate the SSM. It is important for us to agree on the nature of the organization, on its future shape. We want it to be open to all young people; we want it to also associate in its ranks members of other political parties and the religious youth. It should reflect the structure of the young generation in society. We realize, of course, that our work in this situation will become far more complicated.

"It is certain that the party's attitude to the SSM will have to change, too. It will be necessary to work far more with Communists in the SSM, mainly through the medium of party groups in SSM bodies.

"The character of the youth organization must be adapted to actual practical life. This means, for instance, that a number of nonparty members and members of other political parties will appear—and they are appearing already—in SSM functions. In other words, the SSM is bringing up new members not only for the CPCZ, but for the other political parties as well.

"We also want the youth union to conform with the ideas of the young generation, in view of the fact that there are, and will also undoubtedly be in the future, attempts to establish various organizations outside the SSM structure. We should be the active reserve of the entire National Front. The slogan 'SSM—The Reserve Pool of the CPCZ' will thus no longer automatically apply."

Elsewhere in the discussion, Mohorita says: "With regard to the relationship between the party and young people, I consider as very important the renewal of [young people's] trust in the party as the leading force of society. We will gain this trust when we resolve, for example, a certain social injustice which affects young people. Let us say it clearly at the national conference: We do not want any prerogatives for young people; we do not want them to get anything for free just because they are young. However, they must have a chance to earn money. If a worker is 25, for instance, but works as well as a 50-year-old, he must get the same wages."

Mohorita also allays the fears of "some comrades in the party" that the contemplated establishment of special interest organizations within the SSM might "break up the youth organization's unity." He concedes that the establishment of special interest organizations will mean "greater worries and more work" for SSM district committees, but contends that "it definitely will not break up the SSM's unity." In this context he points out that such organizations will require the approval of the SSM

district committee and that they will also have to surrender a proportion of the earnings from their economic activity, all of which should promote unity.

The issue of trust, or lack of it, between the party and the young generation is also raised by some other panelists. Vaclav Gaier, leading secretary of the CPCZ District Committee in Tabor, for example, observes: "The fact is that we, party functionaries, do not know our youth very well, and the youth does not know us. This is then the source of mutual distrust." Jan Riaz states that "young people often do not believe what we say because they assess the policy of the party, restructuring, and democratization according to what is changing in their surroundings, according to what they see around themselves." He stresses that when acute social problems of young people (low wages, housing shortage, supplies) are not dealt with in enterprises and localities, it is hard to win them for the party's program. Riaz also concedes that the attitude of young people to the party is "influenced by the standard of our ideological work, which does not always respond appropriately to arising problems and contradictions. What we often lack is the progressive search for new ways of enlisting the youth for party policy and of involving it in its formation and implementation."

Jaroslav Hatle, chairman of a primary party organization in the CKD factory in Prague, says that young people "show no interest in functions and often not even in their job." According to Hatle, this even applies to young workers recommended as candidates for party membership: "When we talk to such a young worker, he tells us: 'They said it over and over to me, so I promised [to join the party], just to be left in peace. However, I am not really interested.' When they work in the SSM in the vocational school, they often do so to profit in one way or another. However, when they come to the factory and start earning money, they do not want to have any extra work."

Daily Counters Stepan Bribe Rumors

AU1511095389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Nov 89 p 2

[Jiri Kohout article: "In Reply to a Reader's Question; A Barefaced Lie"]

[Text] "There is talk among some people that Stepan, the municipal party secretary, received bribes worth tens of thousands of Deutsche marks from companies in the FRG in exchange for priority treatment in implementing construction projects in Prague. Can you elaborate on this? The rumors are spreading at lightning speed and soon they will be all over the republic...." Our editorial office received this letter last week from a reader in Brno. It was not the only version of this rumor.

The reader called—absolutely correctly—what he had heard a rumor, and he is entirely justified in thinking, just like everyone else, that even the most barefaced lie is capable of being spread at lightning speed. It is possible to talk seriously and not so seriously about slanderous rumors but, obviously, it is also necessary to talk about them in a mass medium such as the daily press in order that no sensible person gets caught hook, line, and sinker by them.

As is well known from literature, our distant and very distant forebears also had something to do with rumors. The ancient Roman poet Virgil depicted rumor as a feathered and winged monster with a hundred eyes, ears, and tongues. Even the heroes of Neruda's "Tales From the Little Quarter", Messrs. Vojtisek and Vorel, were powerless against rumor and, as we know from Neruda, a rumor can reduce even a beggar to poverty....

But it is also necessary to talk completely seriously about rumor as a method of psychological terror used against honest people, no matter on which social scale or in which job they may be. Recently, these methods have been cropping up more and more—and let us be open about it—especially because well-known U.S. radio stations intentionally lend them an ear. They also harness to their services those among us who want to abuse the atmosphere of social transformations that we are experiencing.

RUDE PRAVO has already more than once objected to rumors directed against specific personalities from our public life and, with all responsibility for the communicated word, we also condemn and reject the rumor being circulated against Comrade Miroslav Stepan, the leading secretary of the party's City Committee in Prague. This rumor has absolutely no substance. There is no doubt that the people behind the rumor, whether at home or abroad, are those who have even elected slander to their political program—slander whose aim it is to blacken the name of whichever honest and incorruptible party or public official.

This is the case with the rumor about which our reader from Brno wrote to us. It would have been possible to disregard his letter. But—as they say—whoever keeps silent, apparently, agrees. However, do we have the right to remain silent when an honest citizen or an honest public official is slandered in our vicinity, workplace, or place of residence? We aim this at those who—often with reference to the fact that they are "uninformed"—can nolens volens pay lip service to a rumor.

We said that it is necessary and possible to talk seriously about rumors. Let us add, then, a view which recently, in connection with foreign events, was quoted in the pages of RUDE PRAVO: "Although someone does not immediately have an answer to every question, he can and must indicate the banner under which he is marching" (E. Krenz). This truth has an omnipresent applicability. Nevertheless, it is impossible to publicly counter every insidious rumor. This simply is not within the mass media's powers.

Environmentalist Union Elects Leader, CC Body

LD1211222889 Prague CTK in English 2107 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Bratislava Nov 12 (CTK)—More than 160 delegates reviewed achievements of the past five years and

discussed new possibilities of activity at the sixth congress of the Slovak Environmentalists' Union which took place here at the weekend.

Participating in the congress was a delegation of the Slovak National Front Central Committee led by Slovak First Deputy Premier Stefan Murin. Also present was a delegation of the Czech Union of Environmentalists.

Referring to Czechoslovakia's approach towards the living environment, a report of the Slovak Union's Central Committee said that well thought-out structural changes in the national economy are necessary as well as efficient measures in technological development, capital construction, building of supplier's facilities and in strengthening of economic and legislative instruments. Apart from this, it is, however, necessary to demand a turn in thinking and doing of all members of society.

Delegates in a discussion pointed out a number of ecological problems and stressed that, despite considerable effort made in this sphere, the living environment is still deteriorating in the country and the ecological consciousness of society remains on the low level. The debate has brought many impulses to further promotion of activities of the environmentalists and their organization which has recently become a member of the National Front. Evaluating the work of the union up to now, controversial stands and even sharp criticism of the resigning leadership were heard.

Head of the Slovak National Front delegation Stefan Murin spoke about the key issues of the policy of party and state bodies in creation and protection of the living environment. In his speech, he described the present state as unfavourable and critical in some affected areas. He highly appreciated the role and activities of the Slovak Union of Environmentalists and emphasized that fundamental changes appear in the approach towards the living environment in Czechoslovakia.

The delegates approved new rules of the union but did not approve the main directions of activities for 1989-1994 and recommended to a new leadership to re-work them. They appointed a new 45-member Central Committee. Rudolf Midriak became its chairman.

'Sharp Polemics' at Environmentalist Congress

AU1411172089

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 13 November on page 1 carries a 900-word Lubo Rabay report, entitled "For a Constructive and Fair Dialogue," on the Sixth Congress of the Slovak Union of Nature and Landscape Conservationists [SZOPK], held in Bratislava on 11 and 12 November. Characterizing the discussion at the congress, Rabay says that it "showed that far from all delegates were convinced that the Union of Nature and Landscape Conservationists can continue its efforts without restructuring and without a fundamentally new approach to its activity, aimed at eliminating the causes, rather than the consequences, of environmental pollution. In sharp polemics, literally two camps of opinion took shape at the congress."

Rabay says that while the first camp, "represented primarily by those that have led the union until this time," preferred the development of the existing "tried-and-tested forms of activity," representatives of the second camp "regarded the effect of this activity as insufficient" and "sharply criticized" the leadership's tendency "to excessively centralize and plan the activity of the organization." Moreover, the critics of the leadership reportedly objected to the "virtually unlimited powers of the leadership, the insufficient links between individual organizations of the union, and the weak flow of information, which has led to the gradual loss of dynamism in the work of the union and has weakened its social authority."

Rabay concludes his report by saying: "The criticism addressed to the leadership was ultimately confirmed by the very course of the congress. At the very outset, a discussion of procedural issues, which was 'not on the agenda,' got under way, which was not lacking in incorrect statements by both camps. It was evident that many of them would not have been made had the preparation of the congress not been neglected, especially the precongress discussion on many problems. It was also for this reason that the submitted list of candidates for the new SZOPK Central Committee fell through. In the course of the deliberations it was complemented with at least twice as many names, and the result was that not a single member of the previous Presidium figures in the newly elected leadership.

"Rudolf Midriak became the new chairman of the SZOPK Central Committee and Oto Strofek and Mikulas Huba became deputy chairmen.

"The split in the organization, which many people evidently expected, did not come about. The congress did not wind up the discussion on the 'Main Directions of Activities for 1989-94' and recommended to the new leadership to revise them as an open document, in the interest of the unification of the SZOPK as well as in the interest of enhancing its authority in society and in the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front."

Environmentalist, Romanian Embassy Rallies

AU1511220389 Paris AFP in English 2125 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Prague, Nov 15 (AFP)—Around 1,000 environmentalists held a demonstration here Wednesday [15 November] in protest against planned construction of a high-speed road through one of the city's largest parks, eyewitnesses said. Anti-riot police prevented the protesters from crossing the Charles bridge, which leads to the presidential palace, they said, adding that the protest was broken up after an hour.

Simultaneously, some 60 militant supporters of the Italian Radical Party held a protest nearby in front of the Romanian Embassy. The protesters, marking the second anniversary of workers' riots in the central Romanian city of Brasov, held up a large banner saying: "Ceausescu, you make Stalin happy" in a mocking reference to Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu. Police confiscated the banner and carried out identity checks. [passage omitted]

CPCZ's Stepan Speaks on Restructuring

LD0211122389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] The guest of today's journalist meeting in Prague was Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chief secretary of Prague City Party organization. He spoke about the communists share in rstructuring the economic mechanism. He mentioned the tasks of party members in science, culture, and education and stressed that the aim of all the plans for the development of Prague is above all, satisfaction of the needs of its citizens. Comrade Stepan said, among other things:

[Begin Stepan recording] I would like to say that a lot of problems have accummulated in Prague. The easiest thing would be to do what some people are doing at the moment—cheap people, people who have lost their memory. One could say that the problems are so big that no one can solve them; one must seek and chase the culprits and, as one would say, to lose one's head and to give up socialism. I would like to tell the truth, for example, about the events which occurred in Wenceslas Square on 28 October. As I had the opportunity to get acquainted with the information of the appropriate state organs, bands and gangs are involved which—10-tikmes, 20 times, 30 times and 40 times—were held in the center of the capital. That is a significant affair. It was an action which confirms the philosophy of the intoxication of forming opinions without being aware of the results, or steps. I would like to say that we have a univocal view in Prague, namely that without a dialogue, without conversation, one cannot embark upon restructuring and democratization. This cannot be done without an honest dialogue whose platform is a policy of the party, of socialism, of the National Front. In order to make it more comprehensible we are using literally this sort of a viewpoint: An interview and dialogue with every honest and decent citizen who is concerned with strengthening socialism, its prospects, and its future.

The times are setting questions about what is and what is not socialist, what is progressive and what is regression. We are not surprised by these questions and I would say that discussing them contrubutes to the politization of the entire Prague party organization and, as demonstrated Monday by the discussions of the city committee of the National Front, it contributes toward activation, exchange of views, of the organs and organization of the National Front. [end recording]

Janak Addresses Slovak Journalists Meeting

AU1311090289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Nov 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Session of the Central Committee of the Slovak Journalists Association on Tasks Prior to the 18th CPCZ Congress; New Quality Required"]

[Text] Modra-Harmonia—The Eighth session of the Central Committee of the Slovak Journalists Association [SZN] held in Modra-Harmonia yesterday [8 November] addressed topical tasks of the instruments of mass information and propaganda in society's preparation for the 18th CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Congress and the CPSL [Slovak Communist Party] Congress, and in the process of restructuring. The session was attended by Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. Present also were Stefan Bachar, member of the CPSL Central Committee Secretariat and chief editor of Bratislava PRAVDA; UJ SZO Chief Editor Jozef Kiss; and Rudolf Jurik, head of a CPSL Central Committee department. Eugen Hanisko, chairman of the SZN Central Committee, welcomed among the guests Jan Risko, chairman of the Czechoslovak Journalists Association.

Ignac Janak was the first one to address the meeting. He described the current stage as a period of a struggle for socialism and its protection by fully developing the best socialist values. He stressed that the party realizes the pre-Congress preparations in the spirit of the policy of openness and is resolved to make consistent use of the collective wisdom of its ranks and the whole of society when devising the further procedure.

When speaking about issues connected with the economic reform and democratization, he stressed that the objective of the initiated changes is to make use of the full potential of our system. Assessing critically what has been achieved does not mean weakening the foundations of socialism. He said that the editorial offices' attention must become focused on tangible evidence of the party's purposeful, consistent, and realistic approach to the realization of national restructuring. In this respect we must see that many people still have not grasped the essence of our intentions, have been only slowly overcoming stereotypes and negative habits, a matter that causes a lagging behind in the needs and the potential of society.

Ignac Jank further noted the organic linkage of the economic restructuring with the activation of the political system. The National Front and the entire network of people's administration have all prerequisites for developing pluralism of views and interests, he stressed. The process of further democratization cannot objectively cast the CPCZ's leading role in doubt. After all, it was the party itself which has not only initiated this process, but has also in practice proved that it is justified in leading society. The party will be enhancing its natural

authority by applying methods of political leadership, by developing intraparty democracy, and increasing demands on Communists.

In connection with the ideological struggle, Ignac Janak stressed that when defending socialism, journalism must make use of all arguments, a matter that is important also from the viewpoint of international developments. The activity of the ideologically subversive centers, which organize and finance antisocialist actions, constitutes interference in our internal affairs and is incompatible with the Helsinki process. Relations among states must be stripped of malice in the interest of peaceful coexistence. This, however, does not mean that we will divest our Marxist-Leninist weltanschauung of ideology, he noted. An important task of journalists is to eradicate the idealized notions about capitalism; after all, even the bourgeoisie does not criticize its system as much as we do ours.

In conclusion, Ignac Janak expressed the conviction that journalists, by becoming involved in the public discussion of the documents being drafted for the CPCZ Congress, will help in the unfolding of a truly fruitful dialogue in society. The important thing is, together with the people and the party, to take part in the political struggle for the practical realization of fundamental and, by their nature, revolutionary measures for the further advancement of socialism.

The session—at which the demand for greater efficiency in the association's work and for a new quality in socialist journalism was expressed—elected Jan Havrilla as secretary of the SZN Central Committee.

Janak Addresses SSR National Front Aktiv

AU1311085889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

[Martin Krno report: "Slovakia-wide Aktiv of the National Front of the Slovak SR; Platform For Constructive Dialogue"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava (Our correspondent)—Yesterday's [8 November] Slovakia-wide aktiv of functionaries of the National Front of the SSR [Slovak Socialist Republic] and the organizations affiliated in it was attended, among others, by Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the SSR National Front Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The first part of the deliberations focused on Czechoslovakia's position on the changing international situation in the world and the social and political development in the socialist countries. [passage omitted]

In the debate, the participants in the aktiv spoke, above all, about the share of their political parties, social organizations, or district committees of the SSR National Front in the restructuring and democratization of our society. [passage omitted]

Fedor Prihradsky, secretary of the district committee of the SSR National Front in Roznava, drew attention to the gross interference by Hungarian Television, especially in its Panorama program, in our internal affairs. Inhabitants of the Roznava district, including Czechoslovak citizens of Hungarian nationality, are unequivocally condemning at public meetings and membership meetings of the CPSL [Slovak Communist Party] primary organizations, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, and the Union of Cooperative Farmers such practices and demand under no circumstance giving in to forces slandering our past, socialist ideals, the coexistence of citizens of all nations and nationalities that live in the CSSR.

Comrade Ignac Janak was the last one to speak. [passage omitted] He noted that the preparations for the deliberations of Czechoslovak Communists are taking place in a complex period, in which the defense and development of socialism, its qualitative renaissance and attractiveness, and the platform of the National Front and the CPCZ's leading role in society are at stake. We support all steps in the neighboring countries which lead to the deepening of socialist values, he stressed, and added that we do not intend and have no reason to make room for antisocialist forces, or to leave our social development to the mercy of chance. The line of restructuring in our country has been determined by the CPCZ, which is elaborating it further, and which will continue following the path of strengthening socialism, Comrade Janak said. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister on Internationalist Alliance

LD0511224289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Nov 89

[Text] Defense Minister Milan Vaclavik issued an order of the day on the occasion of the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. He stressed in the order that the revolution's revolutionary bequest is being developped by our society for the implementation of the comprehensive restructuring of all spheres of social life.

Because of the persisting external threat, it is necessary to continue to strengthen the combat readiness of the Czechoslovak People's Army so that it will be ready, in an internationalist alliance with the Soviet Army and other fraternal armies, to defend the socialist homeland and, in harmony with requirements of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states, resolutely fend off a possible aggression.

The national defense minister ordered a 20-gun salute to be fired tomorrow at 2000 in Prague and Bratislava.

National Council Chairman Addresses Troops

LD2810210289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Our country has been marking its 71st anniversary today, and all towns and villages are decorated

with the state colours on this festive day. An inherent part of these celebrations are, by tradition, military oath-taking ceremonies where the new recruits to the Czechoslovak People's Army, the Border Guard and the Ministry of the Interior Troops are sworn in. In Prague, these ceremonies traditionally take place in the historic parts of the capital. Today, the oath-taking ceremony returned to Wenceslas Square, which has been the scene of many historic moments, including the declaration of our independence. [passage omitted]

The ranks of soldiers were greeted by Jozef Kempny [Czech National Council Chairman], who recalled the importance of 28 October 1918 for our life. He also stressed the need for the troops to be ready to defend our country against all enemies. Addressing the current situation in Europe, in particular, he had this to say:

[Begin Kempny recording] The enemies of socialism would like to exploit the difficulties which are arising. They have not given up the idea that they will succeed in diverting us from the path we have embarked upon. But we will not give them the opportunity. We have taken to heart the idea of a European home. Prague, as a great historic and cultural center, has every prospect of playing a very important role in building that home. Without Prague and the CSSR, this idea could hardly become a reality. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Issues GOSR Anniversary Order

AU0711214489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Nov 89 p 2

[CTK report: "The Order of the CSSR Minister of National Defense"]

[Text] Prague—The CSSR Minister of National Defense has issued an order on the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It says, among other things:

On 7 November, our working people and members of the Czechoslovak People's Army, together with the nations of the Soviet Union and the progressive world public, mark the 72d anniversary of the most important event of the 20th century—the Great October Socialist Revolution, which accelerated the historical development of mankind and ushered in the era of building a humane and socially just socialist society.

Our society views the implementation of the program of comprehensive restructuring of all spheres of social life as the development of the revolutionary legacy of the Great October. The demanding tasks of building and perfecting socialist society can only be realized in peace. Therefore, the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the socialist state support the struggle of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community for maintaining and strengthening peace.

In honor of the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution I order on 6 November at 2000 the firing of 20 artillery salvoes in the CSSR capital of Prague and in the capital of the Slovak Socialist Republic, Bratislava.

Slovak CP Presidium on Intensifying Party Work

LD0711220389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] The Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee Presidium assessed at its session today a draft proposal on the measures to intensify party political work among the population in the precongress period. In this context it stated that the social and economic development of our society is possible only through the people's greater participation in shaping and implementing party policy. This requires that especially the National Front organizations look more intensively for ways to win the people over to the policy of restructuring.

In assessing the activities of the Slovak People's Control Committee the Presidium stressed the demand to develop the participation of citizens in control and inform collectives in time about the results of control and about adopted conclusions.

Warsaw Pact Chief Arrives for Visit

LD1611040789 Prague CTK in English 1900 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 15 (CTK)—Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Treaty Joint Armed Forces Army General Pyotr Lushev, Chief of the Combined General Staff of the Joint Armed Forces Army General Vladimir Lobov, and other officials arrived here today on a short working visit.

Zhivkov Departure, BCP Plenum Viewed

AU1511082389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Nov 89 p 6

[Miroslav Fladr commentary: "The Baton of Bulgarian Policy"]

[Text] The change in the most senior party position in Bulgaria is sufficient reason for international attention to have been focused on Friday's [10 November] session of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee. First of all, Comrade Todor Zhivkov retired from the political scene. In Bulgaria an entire epoch is associated with him. At the same time, he was the longest-serving ruling representative in the socialist countries (he became the Central Committee's first secretary in 1954). The politician, who celebrated his 78th birthday on 7 September, submitted a request to be released from the most senior party and state posts.

Todor Zhivkov's successor, 53-year-old Petur Mladenov, merges—in the words of Georgi Atanasov, the premier—"the unity and continuity of the generations." He is a native of northwest Bulgaria, he studied philosophy at Sofia University, and is a graduate of the

Moscow Diplomatic Academy. Since 1971 he has occupied the leading diplomatic position in the country, that of foreign minister, and for almost 12 years he has been part of the party's most senior leadership as a member of the Central Committee Politburo.

The session also convened the routine 14th BCP Congress for the last quarter of next year. It was originally supposed to take place at the beginning of 1991 but, as has been stressed, it is necessary to react more quickly to the process of change at the moment; however, at the same time, there is no reason to convene an extraordinary congress. The delegates will be elected by secret ballot. The congress should also adopt new party statutes.

The BCP Central Committee session discussed the principle part of a Politburo document, a document which occupies almost four pages of the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO and which has been published almost 2 weeks ahead of schedule. A preliminary discussion was made possible by this. The document states that, although the country's overall development is taking place without political and socioeconomic commotion, the very process of restructuring is coming up against grave difficulties and no substantial progress has been recorded. As the new general secretary stated at the end of the Central Committee session: "Once we could not understand that qualitatively new tasks require qualitatively new approaches and methods for their execution. We were banking on scenarios that were already known and on schemes that had already been tried. This is just the answer to questions why, to date, restructuring has not been able to bring about the expected breakthrough, why the economy is beset by grave difficulties, and why a series of bold and original restructuring ideas have been, to a certain extent, discredited."

In the aforementioned concluding remarks and also in the outline of a policy statement, the new general secretary placed emphasis on the individual, on his character, on strengthening glasnost, on finally dismantling the administrative system of management, on a democratic state, on a state based on the rule of law, on self-government, on the idea of the pan-European home, and on cooperation with the other socialist countries. He expressed the view that in seeking correct decisions it is not necessary to fear the pluralism of opinions. The party of the Bulgarian Communists will continue to be the leading force in society and restructuring will continue to be developed within the framework of socialism.

In all spheres of life, as Mladenov stated, many complicated problems have accumulated and he added that they will be called by their correct names. At the next Central Committee session there is supposed to be a discussion on making the restructuring processes more dynamic.

New GDR Travel Regulations Viewed

AU1511105989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Nov 89 p 5

[Bedrich Zagar commentary: "In a Strong Current of Development"]

[Text] We are registering days of stormy development in our northern neighbors' country, in the GDR. The new Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] leadership is adopting new measures daily to resolve the internal political crisis that is marked, among other things, by the mass illegal exodus of GDR citizens to the FRG. Among the most radical measures is the new regulation that permits GDR citizens to travel abroad and to emigrate; it is possible to use any of the direct border crossing points from the GDR to the FRG or West Berlin for this purpose. This decision will apply until a new law on traveling is adopted, the draft of which is now a topic of nationwide discussion.

Citizens can now submit a request to travel abroad without stating their reasons, and permission for these journeys will be given within a short period of time. Extraordinary pressure motivated this measure, and it seems that the GDR leadership has made the optimal decision. It has come as a shock not only to GDR citizens but also to the West, which has lost some of the wind from its sails. The first positive impact of this measure can be seen in the fact that internal political tension within the GDR has been palpably reduced and that this has had an effect on those who in recent weeks had left for the FRG. Many people were soon disappointed when they could not be guaranteed decent accommodation and employment in the FRG, and are now considering returning to the GDR.

It is not that travel to the FRG or elsewhere had previously been impossible in the GDR. Every year, tens of thousands of people journeyed abroad to visit friends and so on, and the state provided them with foreign currency resources for this. However, there was not enough foreign currency for all those interested. Now, anyone who wants to will be able to travel but will not be provided with foreign currency resources from the state's reserves.

It is understandable that it is not easy to abandon one's homeland—especially for families with small children—to tear oneself away from a comfortable home and reliable employment and to expose oneself to the risk of an uncertain future. However, in the past many matters were left unresolved and this forced many people to make a desperate decision. This was also confirmed by Egon Krenz, the new SED Central Committee general secretary, who said at the ninth SED Central Committee session: "In recent months, we certainly did not sufficiently appreciate the true magnitude of social development, nor did we draw appropriate conclusions from it in time."

It is good that an open dialogue is taking place between the working people and representatives of the party and

state leadership. It is apparent that the overwhelming majority of GDR citizens have a sincere interest in improved and progressive socialism, and that they want to contribute to its development. However, there are also those who are not identified with the country's socialist character. Their interests differ from the interests of the GDR people. However, life itself will put these people under pressure either to adapt themselves and not to subvert the development of a modern socialist society in the GDR, or to make use of the possibility to travel abroad permanently....

Obzina, USSR's Nikitin Discuss Trade

LD2710145589 Prague CTK in English 1642 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow Oct 26 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina, participating here in the 132nd session of the CMEA Executive Committee, and Soviet First Deputy Premier Vladilen Nikitin discussed here today concrete ideas for promotion of the two countries' economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

Special attention was paid to mutual trade and cooperation in goods transport. Obzina today also met with chairman of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation Vitaliy Khokhlov and chairman of the bank administration of the International Investments Bank Albert Belichenko.

Under discussion were topical issues of the accounting and credit mechanism and other problems connected with activities of the two banks.

Trade Minister Meets Soviet Counterpart in Moscow

LD1111032289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2100 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] The state and prospects of trade and economic cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union were discussed at a working meeting in Moscow today between Konstantin Katushev, the Soviet minister of foreign economic relations, and Jan Sterba, the Czechoslovak minister of foreign trade.

Husak Receives New Envoys

LD0811211989 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the republic, today at an inaugural audience at the Prague Castle received Stanislav Stojanovic, new extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslovia.

Chamrat Chomphuphon, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Kingdom of Thailand to Czechoslovakia, also presented his credentials to the president today.

'Abd al-'Aziz Nasir al-'Uways, first extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the United Arab Emirates, was also received at the inaugural audience today.

Stepan, Lenart Talk With West Berlin Mayor

LD0611181589 Prague CTK in English 1654 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 6 (CTK)—Chairman of the West Berlin organization of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) and West Berlin Mayor Walter Momper was received here today by Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and chief secretary of the party Prague city committee Miroslav Stepan.

Miroslav Stepan stressed the importance of the visit of Walter Momper and other party members, especially now when we speak of new thinking and the construction of a common European home.

Walter Momper emphasized that the visit is to contribute to the development of good relations between the two cities.

Later in the day, Walter Momper was received by Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee secretary Jozef Lenart.

The delegation was later received by Prague Mayor Zdenek Horcik. He informed the guests of the present economic and social life in the Czechoslovak capital and of its further development, and presented a medal of the Prague mayor to Walter Momper.

U.S. Policy Seeks 'Practical Politics'

LD1611101889 East Berlin ADN in English 0817 GMT 16 Nov 89

[By Andreas Kabus]

[Text] Washington (ADN)—The tempo and depth of changes in the GDR have confronted the White House with a situation that has as yet thrown up more questions than answers.

While a staff in the National Security Council and experts in the State Department want to narrow the gap quickly, the administration is facing pressing demands from Congress asking for more action to constructively reconsider relations with the GDR and for showing colors more clearly in Europe.

Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell on Tuesday [14 November] deplored that President George Bush had his spokesman say that an early visit to Berlin was highly unlikely. Senior Democrats in both houses of Congress wanted Bush to express America's satisfaction at the open wall. Critics of a rather cautiously acting administration use the European community summit next weekend for venting their annoyance.

The complexity of the events and their historic dimension require adequate reaction corresponding to the responsibility of the United States as a Western big power, experts of the Brookings Institution and other Washington think tanks have commented. Extending relations with the GDR will have to play an important role in the total concept of U.S. European policy, they feel. Latest statements by President George Bush, Secretary of State James Baker or such experts on socialist countries as George Kennan indicate that a concept of practical politics is being sought. This is the reason for the warning of illusions about an imminent collapse of the GDR and early reunification from Washington, for the long overdue thinking about normalizing trade relations with the GDR to get out of the Cold War trenches also in this field.

President Bush expects Secretary of State Baker to use the three weeks until his Mediterranean summit with Mikhail Gorbachev for formulating well-considered ideas concerning the GDR.

Statement on Banning of Soviet Journal

LD1611110889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0318 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In connection with the public discussion surrounding the banning of the Soviet journal SPUTNIK in the GDR [in 1988], NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and BERLINER ZEITUNG publish today a statement from the Agitation Department of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee.

It says in the statement: "After several articles on the topic of 'Stalin and the war,' including an article 'Would Hitler have existed without Stalin?', had appeared in SPUTNIK - part 10/88, the Agitation Department of the Central Committee received yet again the task of putting forward a proposal in order to prevent the further spreading of such publications in the GDR. The department set out the following proposal:

To distribute the number and to request an historian of the GDR to send a letter to the editors of SPUTNIK, in which such qustions as to the role of the Soviet Union in the struggle against fascism, the work of the KPD [Communist Party of Germany] in the struggle against Hitler, the relationship between the KPD and the SPD [Social Democrats] and other matters were dealt with from the viewpoint of the SED.

The general secretary at the time, Erich Honecker, rejected the proposal of a public polemic with the article in SPUTNIK and determined in this connection that SPUTNIK would be struck from the post office newspaper list.

The Minister for Post and Telecommunications had nothing to do with this.

That is the objective process which was condemned by many citizens as an expression of emasculation and of a serious damaging of the relationship with the Soviet Union."

300 Demonstrate Outside Romanian Embassy

LD1511204689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1924 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Members of the Berlin Area [Bezirk] Association of Graphic Artists called for a demonstration for the rights of the Romanian people this afternoon. An estimated 300 people took part in the demonstration, which marched from Johannes-R.-Becher street in Pankow to the Romanian Embassy via Schoenholzer street and Park street. On their banners and in chants they called for freedom for the Romanian people. A protest resolution was read outside the embassy, in which the association's members protested the drastic cuts in expenditure by the Romanian Government, human rights violations, and the planned destruction of 8,000 villages.

The resolution had been handed to the diplomatic mission before the demonstration began. Representatives of "Coordination Group for an Initiative on Forming a United Left" and the GDR's Center for Art Exhibitions spoke against sending an SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] delegation to the RCP's [Romanian Communist Party] 40th party congress.

The organizers decided to meet for a peaceful demonstration in front of the embassy building on the 15th of every month.

Berlin Demonstrations for Freedom in Romania

AU1511192889 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] East Berlin—In the evening, a few hundred members of human rights groups demonstrated for freedom in Romania. Two years ago, workers' revolts against Ceausescu's regime had been crushed in the town formerly called Kronstadt [Brasov] in Transylvania. The demonstrators called for the end of Stalinism in this fraternal state of the GDR as well.

Coalition Government Talks Continue

LD1611111389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1007 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The negotiations on preparing a coalition government continued today in th GDR Council of State building. Taking part are Egon Kre general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Ger many [SED] Central Committee; Dr Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasants Party [DBD]; Lothar de Maziere, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU]; Prof Dr Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD]; and Guenter Hartmann, chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD]. Other party representatives are also taking part.

It appears from a State Council press office statement that agreement was reached on the proposals by Hans Modrow, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The statement adds: "During these coalition negotiations, consultations on preparing for the People's Chamber meeting on 17 and 18 November 1989 took place. Agreement was reached to recommend to the People's Chamber that it decide on the formation of a temporary commission to alter and supplement the Constitution. Representatives of all parliamentary groups, workers, and other working people, representatives of social movements who are not members of the People's Chamber, representatives of church and religious communities, legal experts, and representatives of other scientific disciplines should be members of this commission. The draft of the alterations and supplements worked out by the commission should be submitted for public discussion and be dealt with in several readings by the People's Chamber."

There was also agreement reached on recommending that the People's Chamber make a decision on working out a new electoral law with the participation of all parliamentary groups in the People's Chamber, with the inclusion of experts. The proposed draft should also be submitted for public discussion and dealt with by the People's Chamber in several readings.

Spokesman Says Council of Ministers To Shrink

LD1511125589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1221 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of Ministers Press and Information Office envisages its work in the future as a "contribution to the dialogue between citizens and government." The office's director, government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer, told journalists in Berlin today that this should occur through comprehensive information on government activities.

During this news conference with several government representatives on problems related to the new travel regulations, Wolfgang Meyer said that in the future there will be government news conferences, to include members of the foreign media, after Council of Ministers meetings.

With reference to a talk with Premier Hans Modrow, he reported that the new government to be elected by the People's Chamber will be characterized "by a reduction of the Council of Ministers in its highly constructive and efficient work." [passage omitted]

Maleuda Says SED Must Give Up Power Monopoly

AU1511130489 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Guenther Maleuda, the new GDR People's Chamber president, has corroborated the demand that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] give up its power monopoly, and has requested that the respective constitutional article be canceled. In a noon interview with Deutschlandfunk, Maleuda said that a party's leadership claim cannot be decreed. The parliament president, who is also chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany [DBD] in the GDR, stressed that now all parties must work on the basis of equality. He said that his party advocated general, free, and secret elections on the basis of a new election law. In this respect Maleuda stressed that several candidates had to be on a ticket, and elections had to be supervised in all phases.

The People's Chamber president did not rule out the possibility of the participation of the new civil rights groups, which he refused to describe as opposition. He declined to state a date for the first free parliamentary elections. He said that first the new election law would have to be adopted.

People's Chamber Presidium Discusses Session

LD1511184789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1709 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Presidium of the GDR People's Chamber, which was newly elected at the 11th session on 13 November, met in Berlin today under the chairmanship of President of the People's Chamber Dr Guenther Maleuda. A statement conveyed to ADN by the People's Chamber press office says that the meeting gave an initial evaluation of the 11th session and the

preparation for the 12th session which is scheduled for 17 and 18 November and which will center on the government statement, discussion of it, and the election of the new Council of Ministers.

GDR television's first program and Radio GDR 1 will carry live transmissions of the 12th People's Chamber session.

Gerlach Comments on Future Government

LD1511174189 Hamburg DPA in German 1654 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] Chairman Manfred Gerlach thinks that the loss of an SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] majority in a future government is possible if free elections are held. In an interview with the ARD [First West German TV] studio in East Berlin, Gerlach also said that "this conclusion should be drawn in the SED, however difficult that might be." A government is possible "in which other parties, which stand alongside the SED, have a majority." In the view of the LDPD chairman, free elections should take place the middle of next year. Then there will be "of course a completely different composition of the People's Chamber than now."

The future GDR Government will only have about 23 ministries instead of the present 44. The distribution of departments is being negotiated "in part with much controversy" in the coalition negotiations. The LDPD, which is solely represented in the Cabinet by the minister of justice, is demanding three additional departments, including the Ministry of Research and Technology, which will be set up anew.

LDPD Proposes Constitutional Amendment

LD1511175589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1536 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] group in the People's Chamber has informed People's Chamber President Guenther Maleuda that Friday, at the 12th meeting of the People's Chamber, it will submit a bill amending the GDR Constitution. It emerges from an LDPD press office statement today that the initiative concerns removal of the established claim to leadership of one class or party in the state. According to the statement, the LDPD party group will demand that a temporary committee be set up and instructed to submit the draft of a new electoral law to the People's Chamber as soon as possible. The goal is to make possible free and secret elections toward the end of the first half of 1990, by means of a referendum on the electoral law. These should determine the deputies in all the people's representative bodies.

More Information Provided on Travel Rules

On FRG Visitors

AU1511123389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Travel Regulations for FRG Citizens Unchanged"]

[Text] The Interior Ministry Press Office stated on Sunday [12 November] that rumors and speculations spread in the FRG and Berlin (West) about the alleged lifting of existing regulations for travel in and across the GDR for FRG citizens and inhabitants of Berlin (West) are totally unfounded. The existing regulations will remain valid, in line with the international agreements concluded between the two German states and the Senate of Berlin (West)—the transit agreement and the agreement on tourist and visitors' travel.

Advice on Visas

AU1511144189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Nov 89 p 4

[ADN report: "Visas Should not be Applied for at Borders"]

[Text] Berlin—The Press Office of the Interior Ministry has stated that GDR citizens, especially elderly people and children, were confronted with considerable problems when they wanted to cross the borders. Additional border crossings were opened on short notice to normalize traffic. All citizens are requested to procure visas from the passport and visa offices for their districts, before setting out on trips. This continues to be possible on short notice. Travelers planning their travel in advance should apply for a passport and visa in time.

Security Employees Can Travel

LD1511164689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1522 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The new travel regulations for GDR citizens are applicable also, from 13 November, to all members of the Ministry for State Security, the ministry's press office has announced. Every member has the right to apply for a passport. They may travel to other socialist countries and to capitalist countries, including NATO countries.

Travel restrictions applying to State Security Ministry employees in the case of the FRG, West Berlin, and certain NATO countries, were not an expression of lack of trust but ensured their protection from legal infringements. This was necessary in view of the duty to care practiced by the Federal German side, and the existence of the Salzgitter Registration Office.

Further on Regulations

LD1511184889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1701 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The new regulations for private travel by GDR citizens abroad apply immediately to all members of the National People's Army, the GDR Border Troops, civilian defense, civilian employees and members of construction units of the Ministry of National Defense.

The defense ministry press office has also told ADN that these people have the right to acquire a GDR passport. In well-founded individual cases, restrictions may be imposed for bearers of secrets.

The regulations concerning embargoes [on travel] after discharge from military service which have been in force until now have been lifted.

Brandenburg Examined

LD1511122989 Hamburg DPA in German 1210 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—The opening of Berlin's Brandenburg Gate is still "under examination." This emerges from an official statement from the GDR Foreign Ministry today. According to current information, the symbol of divided Germany is not expected to be opened today. [passage omitted]

Immediate Opening Unforeseen

LD1511202289 Hamburg DPA in German 1839 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—According to GDR television, an immediate opening of the Wall in front of the Brandenburg Gate is not yet foreseen. A correspondent of the main news program "Aktuelle Kamera" reported on Wednesday evening that there were "neither technical nor personnel preparations for such a measure."

Red Cross Societies Discuss Returnees

LD1211154689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1500 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Bonn (ADN)—The subject of former GDR citizens who want to return was discussed in Bonn today by the Red Cross societies of the two German states. On behalf of the GDR Red Cross, Consul Guenter Lampat discussed humanitarian measures, ranging from advice and care to direct return, with the management of the FRG Red Cross.

With reference to the amnesty now in force in the GDR and the statements by the state leadership, the consul affirmed that in his country all preconditions had been created in order to receive and look after returning citizens, from the border to their towns.

Next Wednesday, reception centers will be opened at the four biggest border crossing points with the FRG: Hirschberg, Wartha, Marienborn, and Zarrentin. [passage omitted]

Open Centers

AU1511174889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Nov 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Homesickness and Disappointment Are Not the Only Reasons for Returning to the GDR"]

[Text] Bonn—The Red Cross Societies of the two German states have been dealing since Sunday [12 November] with former GDR citizens who want to return. On behalf of the GDR Red Cross, Consul Guenter Lampat discussed with leading officials of the FRG Red Cross humanitarian relief measures, ranging from giving advice and catering to these persons, to directly repatriating them.

Referring to the amnesty that has been put into force in the GDR and the statements of the state leadership, the consul confirmed that all of the necessary arrangements have been made in his country to receive and take care of the returnees—from the border to the cities. He said that as of next Wednesday [15 November], centers will be opened at the four largest border crossing points with the FRG—Hirschberg, Wartha, Marienborn, and Zarrentin—to take care of the returnees. Lampat said that all of the necessary types of experts are there to take care of people, ranging from medical personnel to registry office personnel. He said that in addition, it will be possible to quickly identify those citizens who have no identity documents.

Bernd Hoffmann, deputy secretary general of the FRG Red Cross, said that his society had already done a lot for resettlers from the GDR. He added that, of course, the FRG Red Cross is ready to help all of those in word and deed who want to return to the GDR.

The Bonn Red Cross Secretariat General believes that there are "very many people" who came from the GDR to the FRG, and who—in view of the realities—are now reconsidering their decision. The Secretariat speaks about "many thousands." The FRG Red Cross mentions as the most important reasons for return homesickness and, in particular, disappointment with the real conditions in the Federal Republic, such as the lack of apartments and jobs, as well as the political changes in the GDR. Red Cross staffer Bernd Doeveling says that judging by the talks he had held with people who want to return, many wish to take an active part in restructuring in the GDR.

According to GDR diplomat Horst Skirde, the GDR mission in Bonn, where many former GDR citizens have contacted the consular section about their intention to return, has had the same experience.

Erfurt, Magdeburg Prepare for Returnees

LD1511163489 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1600 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Preparations for the return of former GDR citizens are in full swing in Erfurt and Magdeburg Bezirke. As of Wednesday [15 November] more than 2,000 refugees can be taken care of for a short time in barracks, housing areas, training centers, and former military buildings. Helpers of councils will quickly register names and former homes of the involved. The People's Police will issue temporary identification documents. Every adult person will receive 150 Marks as an emergency payment.

Magdeburg Bezirk Council Chairman Gruenwald, said that there are voices opposing special benefits for returnees. At the same time, however, he asked for solidarity among the people and for understanding of the respective state measures. He proposed publishing decisions on granting living quarters to former GDR citizens.

Women's League Chairwoman Resigns

LD1611115489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1109 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The National Executive of the Democratic Women's League of Germany (DFD) today in Berlin elected Eva Rohmann as its new presiding chairwoman.

The chairwoman to date, Ilse Thiele, who chaired the organization for 36 years, had declared her resignation at the beginning of the meeting.

In the course of the meeting the members of the Executive will discuss a draft on the renewal of the women's organization.

It says in the paper for discussion that the women's organization intends to be open for all women in the GDR, regardless of worldview, political affiliation, nationality, religious faith, profession and training, age, social origin and sexual orientation.

DSF President Erich Mueckenberger Resigns

LD1511183589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1721 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Presidium of the German-Soviet Friendship Society (DSF) has drafted a "concept for the renewal of the DSF." It is to be submitted to the central executive at its session on 20 November. This was decided by a meeting of the DSF Presidium in Berlin today, chaired by the society's vice president, Heinz Kuhrig. A statement conveyed to ADN further states that a proposal for the preparation of an extraordinary congress of the society was discussed.

The Presidium had received a letter from Erich Mueckenberger [former member of the SED Central Committee Politburo] in which he announced his resignation as president, which was received with respect.

Entire Leipzig SED Secretariat Resigns

LD1611105189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0959 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The entire Secretariat of the Leipzig SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] bezirk organization declared its resignation at a meeting of the bezirk organization on Thursday evening [time as heard]. With two votes against, the body then elected a new secretariat headed by the 1st Secretary Roland Woetzel.

Berlin FDJ Demands Chairman's Resignation

LD1611190589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1803 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Members of the FDJ [Free German Youth] in Berlin plan to demand the convening of an extraordinary FDJ parliament [as received] and the resignation of FDJ Chairman Eberhard Aurich in the Platz der Akademie tomorrow evening, They will also call for the separation of the FDJ from all parties and for the FDJ to have full rights to have a say in matters.

An appeal by the FDJ basic organization in the Bergmann-Borsig enterprise, which was conveyed to ADN, spells out the slogan of the demonstration: "Goodbye Eberhard! For a Free German Youth, No to a splitting of young people from above, clear demarcation from all parties, an extraordinary parliament, a full right to have a say for all, democratic, antifascist, socialist." The FDJ district [kreis] executive of the Berlin city; Pankow district will be a co-organizer.

Dresden, Potsdam Executives Elect Secretaries

LD1511201789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1800 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] The Dresden and Potsdam SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Bezirk Executives elected new first secretaries today. In the Elbe city [Dresden] Hans Joachim Hahn was unanimously elected. Former First Secretary Hans Modrow was thanked for his courageous work. In Potsdam, Heinz Vietze was unanimously elected. It was stressed that the loss of confidence, both inside the party and by citizens in the party, has to be reduced with the utmost honesty and a clear sense of reality. There is indeed talk of renewal, but the old style of leadership continues to be retained and events are reacted to afterward. A new determination of the SED's relationship with elected bodies and councils as well as with the allied parties and democratic citizens' movements is necessary. No overly hasty decisions should be taken in the economic field. The Bezirk Executives in Gera and Schwerin also dealt with cadre issues.

Frankfurt/Oder SED Elects New First Secretary

LD1511192689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1825 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Excerpts] [No dateline as received]—The SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Frankfurter/Oder Area

[Bezirk] Executive elected a new secretariat following the mass resignation of the previous executive and its first secretary, Christa Zellmer. The Area Executive unanimously elected Bernd Meier as the new first secretary. [passage omitted]

A meeting of the Schwerin Area Executive was dominated by cadre issues and a comprehensive discussion of the situation in the SED area organization. The secretaries and secretariat members asked to be relieved of their posts. At the beginning of the session there was a moment of silence in tribute to Gerhard Uhe, first secretary of the SED District [Kreis] Executive of Perleberg, who committed suicide.

New Forum Organizes Suhl Demonstrations

LD1511223889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2133 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Suhl (ADN)—A rally organized by New Forum brought together an estimated 10,000 citizens in Ilmenau (Suhl area) [bezirk] this evening. Paul Latussek, a spokesman for New Forum, said the move forward in the GDR had been won above all as a result of demonstrations by hundreds of thousands on the street and that the people must remain vigilant until all rights are secured and a renewed misuse of power is made impossible. It is untenable that deposed SED [Socialist Unity Party of German] area First Secretary Hans Albrecht should have elected the People's Chamber president and chairman of the Council of Ministers on the people's behalf. Many speakers expressed their displeasure about this.

Boos and whistles repeatedly interrupted a speech by Mayor Pter Bischoff. He advocated free and secret elections, which he would contest. To the applause of the demonstrators he announced the immediate use of the Central Committee premises in Gabelbach as a hotel. [East Berlin ADN International Service in German at 2229 GMT on 15 November reports the following: "Joachim Kunze, mayor of Suhl since 1978, announced his resignation at an extraordinary session of the Suhl city assembly this evening."]

LDPD Respects Chamber's Election of Maleuda

LD1311171189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1613 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—"The Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] respects the decision of the People's Chamber; its members will show themselves to be democrats in this situation, as they also expect democratic conduct from the other political and social forces." This emerges from a statement by the LDPD Central Executive Secretariat, which has been made available to ADN.

The chairman of the LDPD, Prof Dr Manfred Gerlach, received 230 votes in the election for People's Chamber president, and was therefore marginally outvoted by Dr Guenther Maleuda (Democratic Peasant Party of Germany [DBD]), who gained 246 votes.

When the LDPD named their candidate for the office of People's Chamber president, it also emerges from the statement, it took into consideration the fact that it should propose a politician whose endeavors to introduce a change toward renewal in the GDR found great approval also outside this party.

"There was and is no question of defining the LDPD. We Liberal Democrats are notivated by concern for this country, and by the determination to integrate and to help form a viable coalition supported by many citizens from all classes, to overcome the national state of emergency. The situation is more critical than many citizens may believe. Even those with responsibility, not least those in the areas [bezirke] and districts [kreise], continue to labor under illusions and think that they can continue the old policies with new words," the report states. [passage omitted]

Citizens Bring Charges Against People's Police

LD0911201989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1730 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At present the Berlin State Prosecutor's Office has 113 charges brought by citizens against attacks by members of the protection and security forces on 7-8 October in Berlin. Berlin State Prosecutor Dr. Dieter Simon stated this today to the parliamentary commission investigating citizens' concerns in connection with events on those days.

Up to now preliminary investigations for bodily harm—one of them for grievous bodily harm—and some of them for insults, have been instituted against eight members of the People's Police. In one case the investigations have been concluded and the state prosecutor has committed someone to trial. A further 13 proceedings are still running against persons unknown. Eight charges were made to the military chief state prosecutor and investigations are being made into two cases. Dr. Simon announced that the upcoming court hearings would be public.

The unlawful police action, whereby citizens had been removed from the scene by the people's Police, was ascertained during the investigations.

In a debate lasting several hours, the commission made a decision at the beginning of the discussion about their final composition. The 42 members have available testimony from those concerned and from eyewiteness of events during those days, as well as other written reports.

It was resolved to form more working groups, for example to carry out research in Berlin hospitals. The aim is, inter alia, to investigate the number of those who received medical treatment in connection with the events, and the extent of their injuries.

State Security Officials Support Changes

LD1011155389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1505 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Deputy Minister of State Security (MFS) Rudi Mittag supports the measures for greater certainty of the law and the state based on rule of law proposed in the Socialist Unity of Germany [SED] action program. "It is also in line with our fundamental interests for a law on state security to be drafted which will govern the activity of the Ministry of State Security, its competences and principles of its working methods," he told the 10th SED Central Committee session. [passage omitted]

Referring to the current situation on the state border, the speaker stated that by 0400 tens of thousands of GDR citizens had passed through the checkpoints to West Berlin. By the same time the overwhelming of GDR citizens had returned.

Mittig said that over the next few days 1,200 members of his ministry will be deployed in the lignite sector to lend immediate aid to the economy.

State Security Ministry Examines Changes

LD1111160189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1508 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] party aktiv at the Ministry for State Security, MFS, today discussed the ministry party organization's next tasks with Politburo member Wolfgang Herger during their evaluation of the 10th Central Committee session.

In the announcement on their meeting, it says: "At a difficult time for our country, the participants reasserted their resolution to support the process of renewal which has begun with all their might and to guarantee state security reliably together with the other security and defense bodies. The discussion, which was characterized by great openness, reflected the fact that the comrades from state security are dealing critically and self-critically with the way they hitherto took up their responsibilities and have begun to thoroughly consider the consequences for their work arising from the renewal of socialism."

It goes on to say: "The members of the MFS share the concern of many working people about the continued existence of socialism in the GDR." The party activists announced their firm will to help put the SED's program of action into effect with commitment and to strengthen their party organization's fighting strength. The program of action should be assessed in the party collectives without delay. The necessary tasks for the respective areas of responsibility should be determined from this.

Commission Investigates Police Attacks

LD1511234589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1917 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member and secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee, spoke today in favor of a speedy conclusion to the investigations into attacks by members of the defense and security organs in connection with the events in Berlin on 7 October. Speaking to the parliamentary commission which is investigating the events of that time in the GDR capital, he commented on an article published in the West Berlin newspaper TAGESSPIEGEL on Saturday. The article refers to an alleged attempt by leading SED forces to prevent the investigations.

Schabowski described this as an "absurd suspicion." Rather, he had expressed his concern about the lack of competent information about the state and results of the investigations "no matter how they looked." Referring to the orders given in that period, the politician said after his statement in response to questions from commission members that "he had no knowledge of any order other than the general one: No use of force. Every person who is mistreated is one too many."

In the words of the chief of the People's Police in Berlin, Lieutenant General Friedhelm Rausch, who was heard by the commission the same day, at no time had actions been expected by forces who "were still regarded as hostile to socialism." However, an order was given to foil disruptive intentions with the greatest restraint, to react appropriately, and to differentiate between disruptive elements, enemies, sympathizers, and innocent bystanders. The "tragic situation" came about that "social problems were to be solved by political means." If today the legal norms are at odds with social reality, then this is a reflection of necessary changes and is not an expression of arbitrary police actions. Lt Gen Rausch outlined a seemingly endless series of tasks for the complete registration, supervision, and control of all events before and during the days in question in Berlin. This also includes training for action with special equipment and for the dispersal of "gatherings with disruptive intentions."

On 7 and 8 October more than 1,000 people in Berlin as a whole were taken in for legal processing, the police president said. However, he distanced himself from "excessive harshness and an undifferentiated approach." The head of the Berlin security police has since been relieved of his post and disciplinary measures have been instituted against those heads of processing points where violations were committed. A number of People's Police members had displayed shortcomings in dealing with citizens, for example, incorrect attitude to tasks, inadequate legal knowledge, and personal failings in preserving the dignity of the person.

A total of 323 petitions and complaints have now been received by the People's Police, 59 of which are still being investigated by the criminal police, 76 of which

proved unfounded in the view of the People's Police. Rausch admitted to making a generally erroneous assessment in lumping all groupings together and thus building up an incorrect and untenable enemy profile. He was advised by the commission to correct this as soon as possible among all People's Police staff.

When asked, Rausch assured the commission that People's Police film material of the events will be made available to it.

While, in the view of the commission, the police chief had tried to throw light on events, for which he was thanked, the head of the area [bezirk] administration for state security, Major General Siegfried Haehnel, was severely criticized. He had merely made excuses. He regretted the overreactions, but also rejected unjustified and in his view unproven accusations, for example concerning the behavior of provocateurs who had shown their identity papers to the People's Police. Today it is clear that political questions can only be solved by political means. The commission decided to hear Haehnel again at a later date.

Commission member Christa Wolf reported, on behalf of Manfred Wekwerth, president of the Academy of Arts, on the latter's meeting with Horst Sindermann on 1 November. The former People's Chamber president had told him that the Politburo had wrongly assessed the 7 October situation. A counterrevolution had been expected which was to have been smashed with every means available.

At the start of the meeting the commission heard reports from working groups. With the aid of the city government, a list of names of all those injured persons given hospital treatment and, as far as possible, outpatient treatment, is now being drawn up. A further aim, however, is to verify especially blatant cases and thereby to reach a judgement on the truth or untruth of rumors of, for example, deaths. In response to questions concerning possible refusal to obey orders, both the People's Police and the State Security had given almost identical information: This was not the case.

Schabowski Addresses Parliamentary Commission

LD1611000389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1941 GMT 15 Nov 89

["Guenter Schabowski's Statement to Parliamentary Commission"—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Guenter Schabowski stated to the Parliamentary Commission:

I am taking the opportunity to speak to the commission because people are operating publically and contrary to the facts with the supposition that the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], my party, had wanted to hamper or even stop an enquiry into attacks in connection with the events of 7 October. This was protrayed in an unauthorized tape recording, which even today is unknown to me, of a debate within the SED Bundestag group in West Berlin's TAGESSPIEGEL newspaper but probably at a public meeting in the Gethsemane Church, too.

I did not appeal for stopping the investigation of attacks in connection with the events of 7 October in my contribution to the debate. Rather, I expressed my concern at the absence of reliable public information on the state of things including the concept "piece of misery" or the expression "achieving clarity as quickly as possible, for the population too."

Following on from a briefing given to the deputies earlier by my colleague Herger on the state of developments at that time, I spoke in favor of the specific results available up until today, that is, provisionally concluded enquiries, being released whatever they looked like. I expressly said that, in accordance with a proposal by colleague Herger, the results of the investigation by the attorney general should be handed over to the legal and constitutional committee of the People's Chamber as the responsible constitutional body for following them up.

My information on talks with Bishop Dr Forck and Consistory President Stolpe was based on a promise by Mr Stolpe to hand over—let us say—probably propagandistically motivated statements by citizens to the international press to the investigating authorities. That seemed advisable because, shortly before this, Bishop Leich and the chairman of the Council of State had agreed on the spirit of a good and cooperative relationship between church and state.

I have told Mr Stolpe of my disappointment at his promise, which I now know he could not keep, in a personal conversation with the same clarity as is clear on the tape recording. We are not angry with one another because of this. We both consider constructive openess better than smooth—if not to say sterile —civility.

The debate in the People's Chamber took place on 24 October. Since then each day has brought fresh evidence. On 29 October, during the first Sunday dialogue, there was a call to set up a commission of city deputies to investigate the events. I asked the mayor, even while we were on the steps of the city hall, to take up this suggestion without delay. I therefore helped to bring about the commission which is meeting today.

I add this only to make it clear how absurd the suspicion is that my party or I personally wanted to hamper or even stop the investigations.

Apart from this, I am sure that the comprehensive report expected from the attorney general will be presented to the public in the foreseeable future in accordance with the statements in the speech to the people's Chamber by the chairman of the Council of State.

I also ask you to take my statement to this body as an expression of my party's efforts to work openly, resolutely, and unsparingly for the investigation of the relevant facts.

Modrow Says Two Germanies Basis of Stability

PM1511142489 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Report on interview with GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow by correspondent Olenka Frenkiel on the BBC 2 "Newsnight" program, introduced by news presenter Peter Snow in Berlin and conducted "this weekend before his endorsement by parliament"—in German with superimposed English translation]

[Text] [Snow] And now, Olenka Frenkel's interview with Hans Modrow, the new East German prime minister. She spoke to him this weekend before his endorsement by the parliament today and asked him, first, how he proposed to manage the country: How could he reconcile his commitment to maintain state control of the economy with his aim of creating a free market?

[Begin recording] [Modrow] We will stick to socialism: That's the demand of everybody who has a political message in our country at the moment—from the New Forum to the Communist Party. What you are taking for free-market economy implies the elimination of socialism, but that's not our concept. Our concept will be based on a market that fulfills the demands of our people, and it will be designed according to the demands outside our country, in the EEC of 1992, for example.

[Frenkiel] We've heard that East Germany—the new East Germany—for them, unity between the two Germanies is not on the agenda. Why not?

[Modrow] The existence of the two German states is the present basis of stability in Europe. All countries of Europe will live peacefully together in this common European house. If the two German states live alongside each other peacefully and in future maybe cooperate more actively with each other.

[Frenkiel] Why should the people trust the party now?

[Modrow] The people will only trust the party again if the party reconstructs itself, and if it comes up with new concepts of how socialism should look. The party has to make progress convincingly—that is, not only by making promises, but by acting.

[Frenkiel] You've said that you're committed to free elections, but is the party really willing to risk losing its leading role in government if the electorate votes you out of power?

[Modrow] Your question might be asked in every democracy. It's a question that would be of importance for each party in your country, wouldn't it—Labour as well as the Conservatives? The parties go into elections in order to achieve something—to win the votes of the majority—and that won't be any different in free and democratic elections in East Germany. Each party will woo the electorate, and we know that this will be our responsibility in the future. [end recording]

FRG President Discusses Developments

LD1611003989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2109 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The text of the exclusive interview given today by FRG Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker to the Bonn correspondents of GDR radio and ADN, Rolf Schiek and Hans-Werner Dertel is as follows:

Question: Mr Federal President, you recently said your country should not burst in on the GDR. I understood this as your vote for the principle of noninterference, a principle which is anchored in the agreements made so far between the two German states. In your view, what role does this principle play in view of the latest changes in the GDR?

Answer: Of course what we have agreed with one another in treaties is valid. Treaties are respected. At the same time we must be clear about the fact that the developments we are experiencing together have set something in motion which we in the FRG and in Berlin (West) of course desire from the depths of our hearts.

It is obvious that seen from this angle, people in our German state are ready with ideas which have proven themselves here over the last few years and decades. Without wanting to call this proving into question in any way, it must be our endeavor and our maxim not to get in the way of the Germans in the GDR or to prescribe a route for their march or even to give unasked for advice, but to support and to rejoice at fact that they have the freedom and the opportunity to choose their own path. That is what I meant by my statement.

Question: During your visit to Berlin you also spoke in favor of not forcing on the people of the GDR Western materialistic thinking and behavior, such as the economic system as a whole, the Western economic system. How should economic cooperation develop between the two German states? Although it is dificult to see very far into the future with the dynamism of these days, what possibilities do you see?

Answer: First of all, I would like to make it clear that I did not say that the economic system should not be forced on them. I neither spoke of the economic system and certainly not of forcing it on anybody. It is quite clear that this is not what I meant. What I mean is that in these dynamic times of meeting and seeing each other again we should not ignore the fact that we can learn from one another. A process of learning is never a one-way street.

We think we have achieved much success with our system, our social market economy. Certainly. And I in no way want to diminish this. On the other hand, it is often the case that in a life in freedom materialistic thinking often gains the upper hand. One occasionally forgets that man does not live by bread alone. Of course, I do not want to preach that to anyone who is starving. But whoever is well-fed often has the experience in life

that material things alone do not give a meaning to life or fashion coexistence in a social and humane manner. I have found in conversation with GDR citizens in this very direction how important the thoughts they have are when they look for a life developed in freedom. And these thoughts should not be extended or forced out by a compulsion to achieve aims which are primarily defined economically too early or too completely. My remark was meant in this way.

Question: Experts see dangers in the economy and in the area of currency. One of the parties in the Bundestag has warned against, as they put it, a policy of blackmail with the hard Deutschmark. Others fear that the GDR will be sold out economically. Do you, too, see certain dangers in this process which is strongly bound up with emotions? If so, what dangers?

Answer: I think that anyone who looks at the situation very calmly knows that we must first of all think and check before we come up with recipes. It is correct that the currencies and the economic availability of goods might develop their own dynamics even before political analyses and decisions have been made. It is now for us a matter of putting our faith in the reform process in the GDR which has been announced by almost all forces there, above all concentrating on the economic system and economic performance so that it can develop naturally in accordance with the decisions which have to be reached freely there. Aid should be made available from our side if requested and if it can be applied to an end, and not only private aid. But for its part it should not influence or restrict the choice of paths or systems by strategies or temptations.

Question: The relations between our two states, Mr federal president, have always affected and continue to affect security in Europe as a whole. What contribution could be made by our two states so that relations between these states will result in impulses for stability in Europe, so that impulses for security are encouraged, and the opposite does not come about?

Answer: Firstly, we should gratefully note that in Europe as a whole a process of detente has been put in motion which is reflected not least in the sphere of arms control and arms limitation. Important goals still lie before us. However, they are being negotiated in a promising way. In this, it is not the two German states who are the leaders, but the respective superpowers who lead the alliances. Nevertheless, the two German states have an important shared responsibility and, I may say, a concurring interest in ensuring that the detente process makes further progress also in the security policy sense and becomes tangible all-round as a result of steps secured by treaty. It is important that the resources generated in the societies are not put into armaments within and outside Europe to the same extent as before, but that they are devoted to more productive goals of coexistence and the preservation of the harmed and endangered natural world and are channelled into other issues which affect us jointly.

I believe that what is emerging in human terms between the two German states and is capable of moving in political terms at this time must always be seen in the European context. The Germans, whichever state they live in, have more neighbors in Europe than other peoples. It must be our aim to live in peaeful neighborliness with everyone.

The dynamism taking place in our region is part of a pan-European dynamism. The one element promotes the other. The one element depends on the other. And in everything we achieve together we must always be aware that we can only grow closer together in a peacefully unfolding Europe, and only with the aid of conscious and wished-for German responsibility can this Europe develop in the direction of common interests and peace.

Question: This weekend there will certainly be another great crowd at the border crossing points. Last Sunday, you called for calm. What personal concerns bind you to such a call?

Answer: You see, everyone who experienced the scenes either personally or through the media, immediately felt how human and natural it was that people who met each other rejoinced in the depths of their hearts and also expressed such feelings. For my part, I participated in this without any reserve. How could it be different? But that should not stop us from feeling that we first of all have to put our thoughts and considered inconceivable that we lack a little reflection. [sentence as received] As I said at the beginning, I do not of course intend to give unasked for advice. Nonetheless, I am hearing something from all sectors of the GDR corresponding to my own ideas and deep wishes, that people prepare for and carry out free, general, fair, and secret elections, really, as soon as possible. However, that does require a suitable length of time. At the same time, however, life goes on, and viability must be maintained. That starts with the most tangible realities. The sick must be cared for, the disabled cannot wait. I used the expression: Viability does not wait for electoral reform. What steps have to be taken in this area in the GDR is for the people in the GDR to decide. But suporting them in this direction, insofar as it is wanted and useful, requires calm, both here and there. We do not want to anticipate the final results or get into arguments today on the final results, we do not want to bring about a polarization in your country or in ours about such final results, but we do want to take the next steps calmly. In the conversations I had in Berlin I did not have any cause for concern in this direction. In Berlin—I think—the capability reigns among Berliners of combining deep feelings with sober calm. I wanted to underline that.

Question: One last question. It looks like Chancellor Kohl wil travel to the GDR soon. Do you also have travel plans, are you planning a visit to our country and talks with our head of state as well?

Answer: I am counting on the meeting announced between Mr Kohl and Mr Krenz. I do not have any

specific travel plans myself. However, I do have the desire to be able to travel to the GDR again in the foreseeable future. During my life I have often been there, in various places. I also have friends and acquaintances. And as soon as the opportunity comes up I would like to take it. In what form, to what places, as well as with which institutions and personages is something for the future.

The journalists: Mr Federal President, thank you for granting this interview.

Parties Prepare for People's Chamber Meeting

AU1511120989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Nov 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Democratic Bloc Met to Prepare for People's Chamber Session"]

[Text] Berlin—The central democratic bloc of parties and mass organizations on Saturday [11 November] dealt with preparations for the session of the GDR People's Chamber which has been convoked for Monday [13 November]. The meeting was opened by Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany [DBD]; this party was in the chair by rotation.

At first, Egon Krenz, Central Committee general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and GDR State Council chairman, gave a report on a telephone conversation he had conducted with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl shortly before. He said that Kohl had heard with interest that the GDR's sovereign decision on travel regulations, which had been initiated by the SED, was backed by the chairmen of all bloc parties. Krenz said that in his talk with Kohl he had stressed that a calm, businesslike, and constructive attitude was now necessary, and that it was not in the people's interests to misinterpret the travel regulations.

Then Egon Krenz gave a report on his party's program of action, which was adopted by the 10th SED Central Committee meeting. He said that this concept of renewal must now be put into practice. He said that every party was facing differences of opinion, and nobody should be concerned about this. Krenz said that the parties and mass organizations had to develop their alliance qualitatively. He added that what was necessary was a considerable degree of consensus for the renewal of the society and for strengthening the state's authority.

The chairmen of the parties and mass organizations and the president of the National Council of the GDR National Front expounded their views on work in the alliance, as well as their concepts and considerations about radical restructuring in the GDR. In this respect, they proceeded from the platforms and concepts on their further work which were drafted by the leading bodies and have been put up for public discussion. The participants in the meeting stated that the struggle for democracy and socialism and for the preservation of peace united all social forces. They said that the task in this process was to consistently continue their alliance and to consistently ensure the full independence of each party and mass organization.

The participants said that in the session of the highest people's representation, every deputy should be allowed to take the floor if he so wished.

The 11th session of the GDR People's Chamber is scheduled to begin on Monday [13 November] at 1030. According to the Press Office of the People's Chamber, the session will be relayed live by East Berlin television on its first channel and by GDR Radio I.

Schabowski Assesses Importance of Bloc Parties

AU1511121989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Nov 89 p 2

[Interview with Guenter Schabowski, participant of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in the democratic bloc meeting, by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND staff member Guenter Fleischmann—date and place not given]

[Text] ND: What was the main result of this meeting?

Schabowski: We discussed the People's Chamber session scheduled to begin on Monday [13 November]. Very important decisions must be taken, such as the election of the People's Chamber president and, in this connection, certainly the election of the presidium; a very thorough debate will be held, the chief of government will be elected, who will be a commissioner of this parliament. We have reached understanding on the way in which such discussions should be held, because the People's Chamber is not frequently confronted with such a situation. In addition, the Central Committee general secretary gave a report on current political affairs that are related to this session, such as the program of action which was adopted at the 10th Central Committee meeting, because this program is the clearest, most precise, and most far-reaching definition of the policy of renewal pursued by our party.

ND: The renewal of our political system of course also concerns cooperation between the parties and mass organizations. Has anything changed as compared to the past?

Schabowski: Nothing has changed about the institutionalized forms. It is particularly necessary to properly exploit democratic forms for this relationship. On the other hand, different forms of contact may develop in the course of the process of renewal. We had a very frank debate, in which our partners in the bloc intensively expounded their own considerations. The discussion demonstrated the considerable and specific commitment of all partners.

ND: So the democratic bloc is working?

Schabowski: More than ever. Its work is more necessary than ever. I think that this meeting was indispensable so that the People's Chamber can work efficiently on Monday. We have all realized this at our meeting.

ND: Was consensus achieved on personnel problems?

Schabowski: That was not to be expected. As you know, all People's Chamber deputies have to decide on personnel problems. In the bloc we surely cannot agree in advance on which deputy has to vote for whom. That would mean replacing the ballot in the highest people's representation.

Newspaper Says Honecker Might Be Tried

AU1511121689 Hamburg BILD in German 15 Nov 89 pp 1-4

[Richard Voelkel report: "Will Honecker, who is terminally ill, Be Brought To Trial?"]

[Text] Erich Honecker (77), the former leader of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, who is terminally ill, is facing hard times: He may be brought to trial, and he may even be sentenced to a prison term. His former prime minister, Willi Stoph, has leveled serious allegations against him before the People's Chamber. He accused Honecker of being responsible for the catastrophic economic situation in the GDR and its horrendous debt (130 billion marks). An investigation committee has been set up. Investigations are also being carried out to discover the reasons and people responsible for the terror of state security organs, and for the current destitution and misery. The GDR paper NEUE ZEIT has claimed that "all injustice must be disclosed, including the injustice done by Mr Honecker, Mr Mittag, and Mr Mielke." Honecker is facing life imprisonment.

As a matter of fact, former Prime Minister Willi Stoph assumed the political responsibility for the hopeless economic situation. However, he pointed out that the prime minister's authority was restricted. Honecker and the economic expert Mittag, who has been fired, are fully responsible, he stressed.

The new People's Chamber President Maleuda stated on Monday [13 November] in a meaningful way in connection with the investigation committee: If deputies are faced with criminal prosecution, their immunity must be lifted.

If Honecker were to be put on trial, he would face charges of "sabotage," legal experts stress. This is punishable with life imprisonment, according to the GDR Criminal Code.

Finance Minister Waigel (Christian Social Union) stated: "Even the existing legal order in the GDR guarantees the observance of certain human and civil rights. The people in the GDR are entitled to sue people who violate these rights."

Erich Honecker is suffering from cancer of the pancreas and is in much worse condition than was admitted while he was in power. He has just undergone another haemodialysis in a hospital. His wife Margot (former education minister) confirmed for the first time that "my husband is sick." He is at home, but receives treatment there. Western medical experts believe that the terminally ill Honecker is being fed artificially. A team of physicians are taking care of him in his villa at Lake Wandlitzsee 24 hours a day.

'Reform' Trade Union Issues Demands

AU0911153489 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 9 Nov 89 p 5

[Report by Hans-R. Karutz: "Reform Trade Union Demands Participation"]

[Text] Berlin—The new independent trade union "Reform" seems to be becoming for the working people over there what the rather intellectual-political appeal for renewal by the "New Forum" has become for the revolution within the GDR: "Not only the newspaper of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB], TRIBUENE, has accused the "state, the government, and, of course, the trade unions" of "having lost its credibility." The GDR's Metal Workers' Trade Union has somewhat adopted the ideas of "Reform" and called for "autonomous and independent actions" as a trade union. Broadsheets calling for an "initiative for independent trade unions", pay increases, longer holidays, and lowering the retirement age, and which were distributed among the million of people that participated in the rally in East Berlin caused further concern within the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED].

DIE WELT publishes several passages of the previously unpublished founding appeal of "Reform" in the "Wilhelm Pieck" Appliances and Control Systems Works VEB in Teltow (Potsdam Kreis) south of West Berlin, the existence of which was strictly denied by the national news agency ADN only 3 weeks ago.

"With the certainty that the FDGB does not represent the interests of the majority of the working people in the GDR, that it does not enjoy their trust, and that it considers itself rather an alliance partner of the SED, we, workers in the 'Wilhelm Pieck' Appliances and Control Systems Works VEB in Teltow have decided to discontinue our membership with the FDGB and to found the independent trade union Reform (UGR)."

This representative body is part of the "democratic reform movement in our country" and supports "the demands for registering the groups and parties that have emerged from it, their unimpeded political activities, and equal participation in free and monitored elections, as well as the demand for freedom of press, plurality of opinion in the electronic mass media, freedom of speech, and the democratic right to assemble and demonstrate."

The catalogue of the demands of "Reform" contains eight major points:

—"Independent enterprises and free development of the working people's initiatives instead of bureaucratic tutelage and patronizing.

—the participation of the trade unions in the decision-making in enterprises,

—the working people's right to strike,

—discontinuing the activities of parties and of organizations that have nothing to do with trade unions,

—elimination of privileges for individual people and entire groups of society,

—improving the supply of consumer goods for the population,

—overcoming the deficient economy, lines in front of shops, and the black market,

—lifting any kind of travel restrictions for all citizens."

Similar to what the FDGB paper TRIBUENE wrote on Tuesday, "Reform" particularly criticizes the SED for being widely responsible for the GDR's constant decline: "We consider the state organs' patronizing and tutelage of the enterprises, their immediate interference in the affairs of enterprises, and the shift of economic decisions from the enterprises to superior planning and management levels on the one hand, and the SED's omnipotence and omnipresence and its monopoly on truth, on the other hand, to be one of the main reasons for the decreasing efficiency of our enterprises and the disastrous economic and supply situation in the GDR.... Instead of using and promoting the working people's initiatives, their industriousness, and their work capacities—the only source for our material prosperity—these have been gradually sacrificed for 40 years to the alleged superior values of a fictitious socialism."

"Maximum profit"—Independent GDR enterprises must be guided only by this principle in the future, it was stated. This also includes that the enterprises themselves "determine the salaries and wages of their employees...." The new trade union wants to end the current political influence of the SED and the Free German Youth. The workers' militias, which were established in the aftermath of the events of 17 June 1953, ought to disappear as well.

Ambassador Comments on Domestic, Foreign Debt

AU1511215389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] In the course of the next week, the GDR Government and leadership should present to the public an exact report on the country's internal and foreign debts, Siegfried Bock, GDR ambassador to Yugoslavia, has stated at a news conference in Belgrade. Bock said that the total internal debt is estimated to exceed 130 trillion East German marks.

The East German public has not been informed (?about this debt or about) the foreign debt, which also amounts to billions of marks.

New Forum Doubts 'More Open' Information Policy

LD1611222689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2132 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Seidel and Scheidig, members of the initiative group New Forum, speaking to journalists in Berlin today, expressed the expectation that the People's Chamber will comment on the rumors, half-truths, or facts circulating in the country that a number of responsible party or state functionaries of various levels and spheres committed suicide. As long as the people of the GDR are not informed about the figures, names, and former posts of these cases, or are able to draw political conclusions from this, the proclaimed more-open information policy is, in the view of the members of the initiative group, nothing more than empty words.

Group Urges Founding of 'Green Party'

LD1611032189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0008 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR newspaper NEUE ZEIT today publishes significant excerpts from a call by an initiative group to form a "Green Party" in the GDR. Among its aims are the "committed ecological restructuring of our country with a radical rejection of environmentally destructive growth which is wasteful of raw materials, the final securing of peace through general and complete disarmament, unrestricted equality for women and men at all economic and political levels."

The initiators mainly want—as they formulate it in their foundation call —to prevent the current renewal movement in the GDR from allowing "a society of freedom of movement, of waste, and a throw-away mentality under the pressure of an unreasonable, short-sighted and materialistic need to catch up" come about. They consider ecological orientation at all levels of the education system as an urgent need and support, among other things, the introduction of peace and environmental studies as well as—acting on the basis of the GDR's Constitution—a reform of the constitution.

Foundation of Liberal Youth Group Urged

LD1611094689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0027 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—An independent youth organization with a liberal-democratic orientation is to be called "The Liberal-Left Alternative—LILA—the Democratic Youth." The Liberal Democratic Party of German paper DER MORGAN today published a call for the founding of this organization.

LILA supports a "youth policy from below, anti-fascism, free development of individuality, an open view of the world, a healthy biotope, Europe, a three-thirds society [all parts being equal], intellectual disarmament, and a weapon-free world without fear." In its founding appeal, the group professes its faith in "Social is a Must" [sozial-ist-muss]. [passage omitted]

CDU Probes Accusations Against Former Chairman

LD1511201989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1850 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Presidium of the CDU's [Christian Democratic Union] Main Executive Committee today dealt with preparations for the Main Executive Committee session which begins 20 November, says a press release. Starting from a briefing by party Chairman Lothar de Maiziere, the state of talks on the formation of a coalition government was assessed. Apart from this, the main points of the statement to be given by the CDU People's Chamber group on the government statement were discussed.

The Presidium tasked the party chairman with starting the necessary measures to investigate accusations concerning the handling of finances by the former party chairman, Gerald Goetting.

New Editor for NEUES DEUTSCHLAND

LD1611093889 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] The newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND is under a new head as of this morning. The chief editor is now Wolfgang Spickermann. Micke, Wessel, and Herbell, among others, are no longer on the team. The new Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] central organ team declares itself in favor of realism [lebensnache], truthfulness, and partiality. The renewed NEUES DEUTSCHLAND sees itself as a forum for the democratic formation of opinion.

Journals Publish FRG TV Program Schedules

LD1611111889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0529 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The BERLINER ZEITUNG and the NEUE ZEIT have commenced, as the first central GDR papers, with the publication of FRG television programs.

The Erfurt SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Bezirk paper DAS VOLK had already commenced this service beforehand.

The metropolitan SED paper offers alongside the programs of ARD and ZDF [First and Second FRG television] an insight also into the ARD regional program, Nord III, and selections from the listings of the private broadcaster SAT I.

Hospital Prepared for Casualties From Protest

AU1111184789 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 11 Nov 89 p 2

[Report by "SP": "Violent End Planned"]

[Text] Hannover, 10 November—Indications from the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] that prior to the demonstration in Leipzig on Monday, 2 October, there were plans to use force to crush the protest movement have been clearly confirmed during a visit of a delegation of the Hannover health authorities to the twin city of Leipzig. As the Hannover commissioner in charge of hospitals, Rolf Wiese, told FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in an interview on Friday [10 November], staff members of the Leipzig health authorities reported that at that time a hospital wing had been evacuated for the expected injured persons, and the staff had been instructed to have sufficient blood reserves ready for possible transfusions.

The Leipzig works militia reportedly were equipped with live ammunition for the first time. Egon Krenz, who is now SED general secretary and was then responsible for security measures, reportedly prevented a "Chinese solution."

People's Chamber Reacts to Citizens' Proposals

AU1411114189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Statement by the Presidium of the GDR People's Chamber"]

[Text] ADN—The People's Chamber, its Presidium, the committees and the deputies of the supreme representative body of the people of the GDR recently received many letters from working people in all walks of social life. According to a People's Chamber press office message to ADN, the citizens in their letters comment on the current situation in the country. It was noted that, at the same time, they present many proposals for reshaping our life. These include numerous suggestions for working out and reformulating laws, and suggestions concerning the role of parliament, the way its Presidium, the committees, and the deputies work. Many citizens combine their ideas with their readiness to make a personal contribution to the renewal of our social life.

The Presidium of the People's Chamber expresses its gratitude to all those who sent letters and asks the writers to understand that it is unable to answer all letters in writing. It promised to make sure that all suggestions are carefully considered, and that they will have an impact on the further work of the People's Chamber, its Presidiums, the committees, as well as on the work of the deputies.

Over 5 Million Members in Protestant Church

AU1411120389 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 10 Nov 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "5.1 Million Protestants"]

[Text] Berlin—The eight Evangelical Churches estimate the total of their members at 5.1 million now, according to

the Evangelical News Service (ENA). However, this estimate is based on statistics for 1986. Related to the country's population in 1986, this means that almost 33 percent of the people are members of the Evangelical Church.

The Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR has presented statistics on the number of church members for the first time in 10 years. The statistics, published late in October, show that the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Saxony is the largest of the eight churches of the Federation, accounting for almost 1.7 million members; it is followed by the Evangelical Church of Berlin-Brandenburg with 875,000 members, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Thuringia with 833,000 members. The Evangelical Church of the church province of Saxony has 706,000 members; the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Magdeburg accounts for 496,000 members; and the Evangelical Church of Greifswald has 306,000 members. The two smallest churches are the Evangelical Church of Anhalt, accounting for 136,000 members; and the Evangelical Church of Goerlitz, accounting for 94,000 members. The last church statistics of 1979 mentioned a total figure of roughly 7 million Protestants in the GDR. According to the new statistics, the number of parishes totals 7,385, and that of pastorates 4,617.

Economic Cooperation With France Discussed

AU1411083589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Nov 89 p 7

[ADN report: "French Experts Advocate Expansion of Economic Relations With GDR"]

[Text] Strasbourg (ADN)—The desire to expand economic relations between France and the GDR was at the center of talks between economic representatives of the Alsace region and representatives of the GDR's trade and industry. During a meeting at the international trade center in Strasbourg, the vice president of the regional trade chamber, Pierre Orttner, as well as numerous leading businessmen stressed their interest in expanding mutually advantageous relations of cooperation.

Ambassador Alfred Marter stressed that the GDR will continue to be a reliable economic partner for France. Trade Counselor Dr Roland Winkler and representatives of foreign trade enterprises pointed out many possibilities in this respect.

Demonstrations Commemorate Romanian Events

LD1511232189 Budapest MTI in English 2129 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 15 (MTI)—Several hundred people participated in the Solidarity rally held on Wednesday in Budapest to coincide with the 2nd anniversary of the Brasov workers' protest on November 15, 1987.

The demonstration, organized by the opposition groups and the November 15 Committee (consisting of representatives of Romanian citizens who have fled to Hungary), was held in a Budapest park not far from the Romanian Embassy.

The commemorations opened with speeches by Hungarian and Romanian speakers, who demanded that human rights be respected in Romania and immediately restored.

Participants then marched to the Romanian Embassy chanting 'Freedom for Romania.', 'Freedom for Transylvania.', and other slogans.

Representatives of the November 15 Committee attempted to hand over a petition at the representation, but their efforts were in vain, as no-one came out from the building to receive them. The organizers then announced they would be forwarding the petition to the Budapest Romanian representation by post.

At 07.30 p.m., five activists of the Democratic Movement for a Free Romania began a hunger strike they plan to keep up for eight days in protest at the Ceausescu dictatorship and the planned re-election of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist party.

To support the demonstration, the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) organized a national action to light candles. The action was joined in the provinces by the local organizations of the Independent Smallholders' Party, and the Solidarity trade union workers' federation. Candles were lit in many places in Budapest and in more than 20 cities nationwide at 6 p.m. in memory of the victims of the Brasov workers' protest, and in a spirit of solidarity with those living in Romania.

Further on Romanian Harassment of Minister Tokes

* Tokes Trial, Appeal Reported

25000511B Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Oct 89 p 3

[Unattributed article: "The Conceptual Trial of Laszlo Tokes"]

[Text] Pursuant to the Temesvar [Timisoara] city court's 20 October decree, Protestant Minister Laszlo Tokes will be evicted from his home. Force may be used to accomplish his removal. Having learned about the decree Tokes vacated his residence on Friday [20 Oct] and moved to the Temesvar reformed church, according to a statement made by Istvan Geczy, minister of the reformed church, to MTI [Hungarian Telegraph Agency]. Geczy lives in Hajdu-Bihar County. He stayed in Temesvar on the trial day and spent several hours with Tokes.

At the 9:00 am trial Tokes was represented by his wife, according to Geczy. Tokes remained at the rectory in protest of the illegality of the trial and for his personal safety. Tokes' wife reported the events of the trial to Tokes and to Geczy at the rectory.

The court added the force of judicial sanction to a determination issued by Tokes' superior, the reformed church bishop, against which Tokes may file an appeal prior to Wednesday. The case will be tried de novo by an appellate court if Tokes indeed files an appeal.

Tokes dispatched a letter to Nicolae Ceausescu. In it he had this to say: "... I am appealing to you concerning my own and the Temesvar congregation's situation. In cooperating with local municipal authorities, Laszlo Nagy, the Nagyvarad [Oradea] reformed church bishop, was in grave violation not only of the legally sanctioned national laws concerning churches, but also of our home country's laws, when he actually persecuted the members and the leaders of the Temesvar congregation. The above named bishop intends to remove me from Temesvar without any legal basis, while the Hungarian members of the Temesvar congregation are harassed and threatened. For several months now, the Securitate and local authorities have created a restless atmosphere and feeling of outrage, not only among members of the congregation, but also among other decent citizens around them. The persecution of the members of the congregation severely affect their family members, as well as the aged and ill members of the congregation...."

* Budapest TV Interviews Tokes

90EC0091A Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Oct 89 p 5

[Excerpts of TV interview with Laszlo Tokes, minority dissident Transylvanian Calvinist Minister, in Temesvar [Timisoara] giving circumstances of his persecution: "I Have Gathered New Strength, Opposition is Not Impossible;" first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Text] Panorama's associates, who are "personae non grata" in Romania, prepared an interview with theology professor Dr Istvan [as published] Tokes in Kolozsvar [Cluj]. He has been forced into retirement. Our readers were able to view a program of that interview prepared by the foreign affairs editorial board, and could listen to a 12-minute audio tape of Laszlo Tokes responding to the reporter's questions concerning institutions in Temesvar, the trial, the minister's preaching of the Gospel despite strict prohibitions, and the manner in which the congregation conducts itself and the way it is being harassed.

[Tokes] For the past 6 months preaching from the pulpit assumed particular significance. It actually became a democratic forum for the provision of information. This is because every Sunday I reported on the events of the previous week entirely openly and in detail. On this particular occasion I was talking openly about the harassments of the previous week, the forced removal of lay council members of the parish, and the illegality of the forced disbanding of the presbyters' meeting. These statements are unusual both in tone and in content, but they are tantamount to the power of preaching the Gospel, thanks to the relative power of expression.

Provocation During Services

[Tokes] A provocation took place at the very end of services. A man from Minister Sandor Halasz' congregation leaped to the Lord's table and tried to incite the congregation against me. This man arrived 15 minutes prior to the conclusion of services; it was apparent that he had been told to come. His words were suppressed by the voices of an outraged congregation. Well meaning members of the congregation tried to convince him in the corridor, and others virtually attacked him. In providing explanations in the corridor and on the street, he said things like "you're eating Romanian bread, therefore you must abide by Romanian laws," "Radio Kossuth is not your radio;" he also said that we cannot support ourselves that way, and that we would not be able to retain our church unless we abide by Romanian laws.

The congregation did not leave the church building, instead they stopped in the corridor and an open exchange of views ensued. In order to protect me from the imminent, promised arrests, some 50 or 60 people flooded the rectory. Meanwhile the officials left and so did the dean. Apparently they confused the dean with me as he left the building. The police treated him almost the way they intended to treat me. And then they were almost unable to clarify that he was not the minister, and that the other person was the minister.

This action on Sunday served the purpose of creating a clear-cut situation for the approaching trial. Nothing would have been easier than for the court to pronounce that there was no longer a congregation, that the presbytery no longer wanted me, that I did not provide services, and therefore that I should abandon the residence, as long as I was actually deprived of the opportunity to serve as a minister, as long as I was removed from the pulpit, as long as they had a resolution in hand, extorted from the presbyters, to the effect that I be removed, and as long as the congregation could be convinced that I should no longer serve. Therefore, in my view the Sunday preaching of the Gospel was a huge victory.

Incidentally, the significance of their perception can also be seen in the fact that they summoned the police contrary to law, and in a manner so as to scandalize people. In other words, they placed all their eggs in one basket. They did so believing that even if the process were to be criticized, or even if the process created public outrage, they would have accomplished their goal. Whatever happened thereafter would be immaterial.

Our successful counteractions frustrated their chief plan, and created a brand new situation. Maintaining continuity of service—a matter they hoped to shut off—became even more open as a result of our conduct. They were left with the disgrace and scandal of police provocation, and they had resolved nothing. I would assume that it is precisely for this reason that they did not venture to repeat the provocation, because it would have been extremely risky to make official intervention a permanent fixture here, to this degree, and at this level.

This raised new hopes in me. Resistance provided some chances. My perception was proven correct to a degree: I had not been harassed in any way for almost a week, no one came to see me, no one said anything. Although the days passed in fear, and even though I took extraordinary precautionary steps to prevent arrest or a terrorist attack, nothing at all happened. I should note here that until Tuesday evening armed police guarded our street and our building day and night, letting people know in a flagrantly provocative manner that something was taking place there. Nevertheless, they did not request identification papers from anyone, and they did not harass anyone. They served as scarecrows only to keep the faithful as far as possible from our residence and to prevent people from getting in touch with me.

Without A Lawyer

[PANORAMA] And did they succeed?

[Tokes] They did not. All week long the rectory was the scene of an actual pilgrimage.... In the final analysis, the stance adopted by the church, the series of preachings that always dealt with timely and appropriate matters, provided wonderful courage. People displayed strong motivation in providing help, support, and encouragement in their own ways by coming here, placing their own peace at risk. They brought oil, sugar, and bread. They did so because they knew that we would not leave the residence, that we had completely secluded ourselves. They brought vegetables from the market, in other words, everyone helped in his own way so that we survived that week.

It was under such circumstances that the 20 October trial date at the Temesvar courthouse arrived. Unfortunately, the defense did not appear on our behalf because the trial date was advanced. My lawyer practices in Vasarhely, and he was unable to postpone the rest of the hearings scheduled for that day. Nevertheless, we submitted our written defense pursuant to rules. Based on a previous resolution of the presbytery we also submitted a written defense on behalf of our church. In it the presbytery opposed my removal from the residence. I did not appear at the trial because I felt threatened after the earlier events. I was concerned about provocations and about spectacular humiliation. My defense lawyer, and lawyers in general, also suggested by way of messages that I not appear for trial."

A "Regiment" From the Bishopric

[Tokes] An entire 'regiment' appeared on behalf of the bishopric: Vicar Jozsef Zsigmond; Sandor Fazekas, the secretary of the bishopric; Zsigmond Borsi, the archdeacon from Bihar; Sandor Halasz, the minister from the second congregation in Temesvar; and of course the bishopric's lawyer. The latter serves as legal counsel to the Romanian Orthodox Church in Nagyvarad.

So, this is how they lined up against us. The court also made some serious procedural mistakes. For example, they did not admit as evidence the interrogatories prepared by our defense lawyer to Bishop Laszlo Papp. These interrogatories would have had a delaying effect from the outset, and we could have gained time had they been admitted. In contrast, the plaintiffs were joined by the minister from Resica named Botond Mekkai. As an appointed minister he had his eyes on my congregation. He brought himself to the point of supporting the action against me.... I am not familiar with Hungarian legal terminology, that's why I have such difficulty in expressing myself. At the same time, a companion suit was brought on behalf of the Saturday meeting of presbyters, the one that was forced. In that the presbytery was also seeking my removal. Quite naturally, and I emphasize this, the presbyters were aware of the kind of resolution they had produced, and the minutes of the meeting were not authenticated. The minutes were not even reported, let alone authenticated! In essence, the partial, recruited fraction of the presbytery had no representative, because by law the presbytery is represented by the minister or by the general superintendent. I would be the minister, and the general superintendent had resigned in protest of the events, therefore at the moment the presbytery cannot even legally represent itself on the basis of statutes.

And yet, this incomplete presbytery abused its name and filed a complaint against me. Quite visibly, the court proceeded on the track that was mandated, convicted me, and ordered that I be removed from my residence. I should note here what is perhaps the most important aspect of this matter: Bishop Laszlo Papp, the one who initiated this action against me, has no standing in court, because the residence is the property of the Temesvar church. In other words, the situation is as if I were about to remove my neighbor from his residence, even though I had nothing to do with him. Despite this fact, the court entertained the complaint, even though by law it should have rejected the entire case from the outset.

Further on Horn at Council of Europe Session

LD1611034189 Budapest MTI in English
1422 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Strasbourg, November 15 (MTI)—Foreign Minister Gyula Horn arrived for the 85th session of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers in Strasbourg Tuesday [14 November], on the invitation of Kjell Magne Bondevik, current chairman of the committee. Mr Horn is to officially announce Hungary's wish to attain full membership in the organization as the first East European country to apply.

Several members of the 23-nation Council have indicated their intention to support the application. Since the autumn of 1989, the Soviet Union, Poland, Yugoslavia and Hungary have attended the Council's Parliamentary Assembly with special guest status.

Pact Forces Army Generals Visit, Hold Talks

LD1311191289 Budapest MTI in English
1651 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 13 (MTI)—Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states, and Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief-of-state of the United Armed Forces, arrived in Hungary on Monday on a brief working visit.

Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian minister of defence, held talks with the military leaders on current issues of the Warsaw Treaty, and preparations for the next committee session of the Warsaw Treaty ministers of defence, planned to be held shortly in Hungary.

Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth met Army Generals Lushev and Lobov on Monday afternoon. Also present at the cordial meeting was Colonel-General Karpati, and Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

Pact Generals Depart

LD1411212589 Budapest MTI in English
1050 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 14 (MTI)—Army General Pyotr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the united armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states, and Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief-of-staff the united armed forces left Budapest on Tuesday morning.

* Number of Refugees Growing, Assistance Needed

90EC0089E Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian
27 Oct 89 p 6

[Text] There is a growing number of refugees. Thus far it has been possible to care for refugees arriving in Hungary without major shocks to society; at the same time, however, their number is continuously increasing. At present there are 23,600 refugees in Hungary. For this reason the State Interagency Committee which deals with refugee affairs announced at its Thursday session that a new, more effective policy is needed to help refugees organize and initiate ventures.

Refugees Numbers Drop Off

LD1311133389 Budapest MTI in English 1222 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 13 (MTI)—The number of GDR citizens leaving for Austria via Hungary fell to a minimum during the weekend. Between Friday morning and Monday morning, 273 people crossed the Hungarian-Austrian border, MTI was told by Colonel Balazs Novaky, national deputy commander of the Border Guard of the Ministry of the Interior. He added that since the government measure of September 11, 49,338 GDR citizens crossed the Hungarian border to Austria on their way to the FRG.

Last week, 800 people made an attempt to illegally cross the border, and the majority, (550), were from Romania and of Romanian nationality. On the Western borderline, out of the 250 who attempted to flee, 150 were from Romania, and there were also nationals from Sri Lanka, Lebanon, Ethiopia, and Turkey.

* Austrian Tourist Invasion over Holiday Weekend

90EC0089F Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Oct 89 p 6

[Text] An Austrian tourist invasion began on Thursday at the Western border crossing points. It is apparent that the guests are taking advantage of the 4-day weekend that includes the Austrian national holiday. By noon Thursday, almost 20,000 persons had crossed the border at Hegyeshalom. Passport and customs services were reinforced on time to meet the increased need.

Italian Foreign Minister De Michelis Interviewed

AU1511132989 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Nov 89 p 6

[Report on interview with Italian Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis by correspondent Gyula L. Ortutay: "The Italian Foreign Minister Gives Exclusive Interview to NEPSZABADSAG—Euro-optimism: Making Use of the Opportunity"; in Rome—date not given]

[Text] In an interview given to the NEPSZABADSAG correspondent in Rome, Gianni De Michelis outlined the prospects for a central Europe made up of multilaterally cooperating states that are facing the turn of the century. The goal of the quadrilateral foreign ministerial talks to begin today in Budapest is "to begin putting together the dossier of the cooperation plans of the Adria-Danube area." This is an attempt to coordinate the efforts of four countries with different commitments, but which have much in common in terms of their historical, economic, and cultural traditions. This unique attempt at regional cooperation stipulated in the Helsinki process promises to be exemplary, cooperation in the heart of Europe that has long been divided by the iron curtain of the cold war.

[Ortutay] Mr Minister, you are one of the initiators or, one can even say, theoreticians of the idea of cooperation in central Europe. In one of your lectures, you said that, in view of the changes in Eastern Europe, the European order that emerged in the wake of World War II is disintegrating, and it is impossible to return to the previous order. Are Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia, and Hungary seeking a new solution now?

[De Michelis] In the past more than 4 decades, the European order has been based on confrontation, and the balance between the two blocs has guaranteed the relative stability of Europe. The iron curtain divided Europe both symbolically and physically, and it hindered the development opportunities in Europe. Central Europe suffered the most from this, because it is situated on the demarcation line.

The events that are now taking place in the East are creating the conditions for overcoming this European order based on confrontation. This is the result of restructuring, of the process of democratization in the socialist countries. Undoubtedly, Western success and the attraction of the common Europe in 1992 are also mobilizing factors behind this chain reaction. 1992 is a symbolic landmark: A Euro-optimism will prevail over the previous Euro-pessimism. One of the explanations for the events in Poland, Hungary, and the GDR probably lies in the recognition of the fact that they must not lag behind Europe for good. We are talking about a fundamental change and it seems that the East is advancing more rapidly than the West in dismantling the old order. Suddenly, everyone would like to become "European." We need time and stages to be able to advance toward a positive integration from the current situation. Today, even the European Community still has to reach higher forms of cooperation. In addition, countries like Austria, Turkey, and perhaps even Norway are knocking at the door, and their requests will only be discussed after 1992.

[Ortutay] Does that mean that, in the historical short term, you do not see any possibility of including eastern Europe in the community?

[De Michelis] We will have to give an answer to the East by all means, because the political and economic reforms have led not only to expectations, but also to creative energies which must be invested. This is a unique opportunity for European cooperation, and we should not miss it.

[Ortutay] How does the quadrilateral meeting come into this picture?

[De Michelis] We have held a lot of talks with our Austrian, Yugoslav, and Hungarian friends in recent months. We have reached full agreement on the need to find an intermediate solution. We must discover the available methods for a multilateral dialogue. This is an attempt for an integrative organization of central Europe. We Italians think that it is in our interest to have a new, cooperating central Europe. Logically, the interest

of the FRG is mostly concentrated on the northern area of this region. However, Italy is affected in the southern sector of central Europe. Obviously, there can be no weak and uncertain points in an integrated Europe, because this could upset the balance. We are convinced that the Adria-Danube basin will play an important role in Europe at the turn of the century. This justifies the need for these four countries to cooperate.

From Italy's viewpoint, all this has great importance: essentially as, for the first time since World War II, the prospects of a role for central Europe are again emerging now. Over the years, the former presence along the Danube has disappeared even from our fantasies, although, in addition to the Mediterranean, this is a natural area for Italy. Compared with the period at the turn of this century, there is a fundamental difference today, namely that this time Italy has emerged as the most important country in the area, and its economic power is obvious.

[Ortutay] What are the goals of the Budapest meeting?

[De Michelis] Our goal is to start the experiment and to lay the foundations for multilateral cooperation. For cooperation in the Adria-Danube area we must put together the dossier of specific cooperation plans in the areas of the economy, transportation, and communications. According to the plans, following the meeting of foreign ministers, we will negotiate at the deputy-premier level on Sunday. In my view, another proposal that needs coordination is that everyone should represent the interests of the four countries outside, in given forums. Thus, Italy will become a spokesman for NATO and the EEC; Hungary for the Warsaw Pact and CEMA; Yugoslavia for the Nonaligned Movement; and Austria for EFTA.

Hopefully, this meeting in Budapest will convince the public that we must advance from unilateral support and aid to cooperation. Of course, we need time to build the elements of integration.

[Ortutay] Will the bilateral Italian-Hungarian relations be discussed in Budapest? It is well known that Italy recently offered considerable support to Warsaw, and the Italian press speaks of a "Polish package"....

[De Michelis] This time the subject is multilateral cooperation, and not bilateral cooperation. Of course, it goes without saying that all this will also affect the bilateral Hungarian-Italian relations. The idea of Adria-Danube cooperation emerged 1 year ago, during the talks I held at the time of [Hungarian Deputy Premier] Mr Medgyessy's visit to Rome. A further meeting is expected to take place soon in our bilateral negotiations. In any case, I can say that on Tuesday we approved the new principles of the use of the development cooperation fund. (The Foreign Ministry has a considerable separate fund for this) After Yugoslavia, we have extended this fund to Poland and Hungary too. I presume that cooperation support is also expected in the case of Hungary, similar to the "package" worked out during the visit of the Polish premier in Rome. We start from the premise that central Europe has considerable development potential, including cooperation opportunities. Northern Italy's industrial potential offers opportunities for technological and financial cooperation with Hungary.

[Ortutay] Finally, let me ask you a question in your capacity as a socialist party member. There were good relations between the Italian Socialist Party and the former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], and the so-called tripartite security policy initiative together with the Finnish Social Democrats proves this. Now that the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] has requested membership in the Socialist International, what can be the role of interparty cooperation in the development of interstate relations?

[De Michelis] The question is very important and it deals with a sensitive issue; therefore, I will try to give a clear answer. The development of political dialogue and the nature of the partners—not necessarily on an interstate level—is one of the expected problems with Hungary and with other eastern European countries that have started on the road of reforms. A multiparty system is a new development. The goal to be pursued is to reduce the risk of disintegration and, instead, to discover the opportunities for integration. Various partners offer themselves on the part of the West too: Christian democratic, liberal, and socialist forces. This issue, and Hungary, were on the agenda of the meeting of socialist party leaders in Milan 1 week ago. The Socialist International can even meet with three partners from individual countries: former communist forces that are reorganizing and taking the road of reform—the PZPR is also expected to do the same as the Hungarian party did; the old social democratic parties and the party which has always been in contact with the Socialist International has just held its congress in Budapest; and, finally, other new and progressive forces are also emerging. This is the reality.

As for the Hungarian situation in particular, in my view it is important to maintain and foster the relations begun previously with leaders who were previously in the MSZMP. I have followed with great sympathy the changes in this year, and I mean here the courageous stand of persons like Nyers, Pozsgay, Nemeth, Horn, and Medgyessy.

The fact that we do not wish to interfere in the democratic process in any way is another matter. Italy's commitment is directed toward Hungary, and the only condition, if there is such a thing at all, is the continuation of the democratic process. We respect and even welcome the autonomous choice of the Hungarian people. Another matter is the fact that I think it would be a pity to lose everything that has emerged as experience in the relations in recent months, because these experiences could be channeled in a positive direction.

Nemeth Interviewed by Spain's EL PAIS

LD0511035189 Budapest MTI in English 1739 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] Madrid, November 4 (MTI)—'In the course of the coming months, the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] will have to prove that its objectives are fundamentally different from those of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]. Important stages in this process have been the HSP's support of the new Constitution, its recognition of a multi-party democracy, and the total renunciation of the party state,' said Miklos Nemeth, Hungarian prime minister, to the correspondent of the Spanish daily "EL PAIS." The interview which calls Miklos Nemeth a major influence on the reform process going on in the new Republic of Hungary was carried by the daily's November 4 issue.

On the post-election period, Miklos Nemeth said there would be a coalition government, as no political force is capable of exclusive rule. 'The coalition I have in mind is one consisting of the HSP and the Democratic Forum and perhaps some other parties. My own participation in this government depends on the success of my party and whether I will be offerd a post. The danger is real that we might get devoured by reform,' the prime minister said. He underlined that the reform process was irreversible.

In connection with Karoly Grosz, Mr Nemeth said that he had been passed by life and history. Nevertheless, history will prove that he had played an important part.

In connection with the Hungarian visit by Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez due on November 8, Mr Nemeth said that 'I look forward to meeting him, as it will provide an opportunity for an exchange of political experience. Spain has already taken the road we have still to go. Under these conditions, Hungary is eager to obtain new experience'.

* European Tourist Office Membership in 1990

90EC0089D Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Oct 89 p 6

[Text] Beginning in 1990 Hungary will become a fully vested member of the European Travel Committee. Acceptance of the Hungarian membership was ceremoniously announced this week at the 59th congress of the American Society of Travel Agents held in Miami. Deputy commerce minister Imre Gellai, head of the National Tourist Bureau, was present.

Szuros Congratulates 'Arafat on Palestine State

LD1411225589 Budapest MTI in English 1924 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 14 (MTI)—To mark the 1st anniversary of the Palestinian State, Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, has sent a congratulatory telegram to Yasir 'Arafat, president of the Palestinian State.

Foreign Minister Gyula Horn expressed his good wishes to his counterpart, Faruq Qaddumi, on the anniversary.

HSP Budapest Executive Committee Holds Session

AU1311140789 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, 10 Nov (MTI)—In Budapest, the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) is to hand over three party headquarters to the government this year, secretaries Andras Fabriczki and Arnold Steiner of the party's Budapest Executive Committee told the press on Friday. They said that Mihaly Jasso (former first secretary of the HSWP budapest committee) was still member of the Executive Committee but did not undertake any senior post.

The Executive Committee called upon its members and the other electors to take an active part in the referendum of November 26.

In Budapest, the HSP has 15,000 members including 150 persons who were not members of the HSWP. From now on, the Budapest Executive will hold a session on each Thursday and a press conference in the subsequent morning.

MSZMP Members Hold Reformation Meeting

LD1111152489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] The 14th Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress must be organized as soon as possible. This was stated at an Szeged aktiv meeting at which an attempt was made to reorganize the MSZMP in Szeged.

The meeting, attended by approximately 200 people, emphasized that a stand be made against the disintegration of the forces of public education and order, as well as against personal persecution, which is approaching hysterical levels. They protested giving state property to private individuals. Over 130 people signed a paper according to which they continue their MSZMP membership. A seven-member temporary Executive Committee, forming the Szeged groups of the MSZMP, was elected.

HSP's Nyers, Nagy Lead Talks With SZOT

LD1311213989 Budapest MTI in English 2013 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 13 (MTI)—Leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) and the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT), held talks on Monday in HSP headquarters.

The negotiating delegations were led by Rezso Nyers and Sandor Nagy.

The sides reviewed the positions of the Hungarian Socialist Party and the trade unions on current economic policy issues in connection with the agenda of parliament's next session.

They agreed that under the trade union policy position of the HSP Presidium, they are to create ways of cooperating and working together, and will hold regular consultations on the representation of the political and economic interests, employees, and wage and salary earners.

* Christian Faction Formed Within MDF

90EC0089B Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Oct 89 p 7

[Text] On 28 October 1988 the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] began to establish an organization called the "[MDF] Christian Organization," in the city of Miskolc. In agreement with the membership, the organizations's national board issued a call on 18 August 1989 to convene its first congress. The congress convened on 13 October 1989 at Miskolc. The MDKP [as published] established its National Presidium headquarters expressly in Miskolc, so as to become a strong representative of the Hungarian countryside. Our address: P.O.Box 419, 3501 Miskolc.

Christian Democratic Party Supports Pozsgay

LD1311161489 Budapest MTI in English 1348 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 13 (MTI)—At the request of its membership, the Presidium of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party decided to request Minister of State Mr Imre Pozsgay to be president of the Republic, says the communique issued by the party Presidium in the wake of the session of the Council of Presidents on November 11, 1989, and the session of the Political Committee on November 12.

The Council of Presidents voiced its anxiety over the recent shortages of food in the border countries of the country caused by the purchases of tourists from neighbouring countries.

The Hungarian Democratic Christian party is also concerned about certain political parties and organizations trampling on citizens' rights in their desire for power.

Independent Lawyers' Forum Issues Statement

AU1211143789

[Editorial Report] Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian on 8 November on pages 1 and 4 carries a 1,000-word statement signed by the Board of the Independent Lawyers' Forum, under the headline: "Statement of the Independent Lawyers' Forum—Urgent Free Parliamentary Elections."

The Statement welcomes the establishment of the Hungarian Republic but expresses its "concern" over the "prevailing contradiction between the important democratic laws and the institutions that emerged during the dictatorship." According to the Statement, "only free elections can solve this contradiction" while "in the current lawless situation, the main concern is how to salvage individual positions" instead of being engaged in "responsible governing." The Independent Lawyers' Forum is convinced that "only free parliamentary elections can stabilize the current shaky political situation and halt the steady economic deterioration." To achieve this, the Statement calls for "urgent negotiations between the government and the opposition to agree on the timing of elections." The Statement expresses regret over the fact that the "National Assembly decided on holding a presidential election prior to free parliamentary elections."

The concluding part of the Statement deals with the legal aspects of the proposed referendum.

Pozsgay Meets With Church Officials in Raday

AU1311142289 Budapest MTI in English 1547 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, 10 Nov (MTI)—"I can only talk fairly about the ethics of the political coordination talks by taking into consideration the daily experience we can gain among citizens. Without this series of political talks, it would have been impossible to carry out a peaceful transition," Minister of State Imre Pozsgay said to a meeting of more than 300 representatives of Hungarian churches and denominations in Raday College on Friday.

Mr Pozsgay outlined his views on national consensus, peaceful transition and his recent foreign trips. He spoke appreciatively of consensus, the observance of agreements, and pointed out that in certain areas party policy ambitions surpass the limits of national considerations. He said a quickly realizable rush for power could imperil compromise reached so far, since whether the further political battle will be ethical is not indifferent from the point of view of progress either. It is alarming to see political movements which observe an accord they signed only as long as they benefit from it. Such phenomena pave the way for a regression.

In connection with the relationship between the Hungarian Socialist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Mr Pozsgay said he was satisfied with the split. He feels it was right to give freedom to HSWP's 720,000-strong membership. Should they have stayed together, the party would certainly suffer a defeat in the voting. He said in the party leadership he personally accepted the role he played in the split, because he was convinced it was indispensable to peaceful transition.

NEPSZABADSAG on Hard-Currency Measures

AU1311110189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Nov 89 p 8

[Article by "M.G": Demand for Dollars and Forint Inflation"]

[Excerpts] Freezing the supply of hard currency to the population for 2 weeks has long been expected. It has often been said that the balance of payments became

upset precisely because of the purchase of U.S. dollars by the population, and the masses of tourists did not change their money at the official places either. What comes next? How will the market react to all this? Will the national currency, the forint, come closer to the highly desired convertibility, or will it move away from this?

There is no country within CEMA today without a secondary hard-currency market, or a network of shops selling things for hard currency. Therefore, there is a dual usage of hard currency in these countries. [passage omitted]

The use of hard currency is spreading fast under these circumstances. Tensions emerge only when one can find not only luxury articles, but also everyday goods and food only for hard currency. [passage omitted]

Every socialist country has a black market where the national currency is exchanged much more unfavorably than the official rate of exchange. The 50-percent surcharge of the U.S. dollar in Hungary is ridiculously low compared with the manifold differences prevailing in the CEMA countries.

Shortages, the collapse of the system of supply and services, and the limited amount of hard currency provided to outgoing tourists are the reasons for the dual use of hard currency. Up until now, Hungary has clearly held the record in supplying its citizens with money for tourism. The $300 available to tourists once every 3 years carried the promise of the future convertibility of the forint. Even if only in limited amounts, we still had the right to exchange our money into hard currency. Now the government has essentially abolished this right. What will be the consequences of all this? First, the domestic situation will approach the eastern European practice of a dual hard currency system, something simply called the "Polish" system. [passage omitted]

In the opinion of experts at the Kopint-Datorg firm in Hungary, in addition to shortages (of motor-vehicles, for example), the inflation also contributes to the increase in the demand for hard currency. [passage omitted]

The recent measures will obviously ease the short-term problems of our financial authorities, because they will no longer have to satisfy our population's insatiable desire for hard currency. It would be now difficult to predict further consequences. Sooner or later, the increasing demand will raise the prices of black-market hard currency. According to some calculations, some 60 percent of the convertible currency exchanged in Hungary is handled by "private bankers." [passage omitted]

The question arises: What will be the results of the 2-week freeze in November and the strict limitation of official hard currency exchange? Has the government any ideas, and will the government take further, even unpopular measures that promise some kind of solution in the long term? One need not go too far to find an example: Despite the galloping inflation and economic problems, Turkey made its currency convertible this year. Several other countries have also taken similar steps. We should advance on this road, and not on the Polish trail of a dual hard currency system leading to moral and economic bankruptcy.

Demonstrations Mark Romanian Riot Anniversary

Radical Party Marches at Embassy

LD1511233789 Warsaw PAP in English 2207 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 15—The Radical Party organized a demonstration in front of Romania's Embassy here today attended also by members of the Polish Socialist Party—Democratic Revolution (PPS-RD), "Freedom and Peace Movement, Social Liberation Front and the Independent Green Party.

"It is an act of solidarity with Romanian people, after debt repayment forgotten by the Western world," said member of the PPS-RD Chief Council Cezary Miezejewski.

"In this way, he added, we also pay respect to those workers who two years ago got into the streets of the Romanian town of Brasov shouting "Ceausescu must go."

Similar demonstrations were held today in front of Romania's embassies in numerous European countries and in Buenos Aires.

OKP Issues Statement on Protest

LD1611043689 Warsaw PAP in English 2223 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 15—The OKP [All Polish Peace Committee] Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group issued a statement on the 2nd anniversary of the protests staged by workers of the Romanian town of Brasov.

The deputies and senators affiliated to the OKP expressed their solidarity with the people of Romania. "We call on the Romanian state authorities to release political prisoners, abandon the policy of repressions and start a dialogue with the independent democratic milieux" reads the statement.

Walesa Anniversary Message to Soviet Peoples

AU1211170089 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Nov 89 p 2

[PAP report: "L. Walesa Sends Message to Soviet Peoples"]

[Text] The Press Buro of the "Solidarity" chairman has forwarded PAP the text of the congratulatory message that Lech Walesa sent to Vladimir Brovikov, USSR ambassador in Poland.

On the occassion of your national day—the 7 November—I would like to convey my sincerest wishes to the Soviet peoples. May the ideals of openness, perestroyka, human rights, and comprehensive security, gain wider acceptance with each passing day.

Anti-Soviet Demonstrations Staged in Legnica

LD1511213389 Warsaw PAP in English 1951 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Legnica, Nov 15—A local group of the "Wolnosc I Pokoj" (Freedom and Peace) Movement staged an anti-Soviet demonstration here today. The participants demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Polish territory. They also sent a respective appeal to Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Also, the headquarters of the command of the Soviet garrison was picketed for nearly three hours. The police did not intervene.

Reaction to Bulgarian Leadership Changes Reported

Rakowski Congratulates Mladenov

LD1311191989 Warsaw PAP in English 1802 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 13—First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) CC Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski has sent a congratulatory cable to Peter Mladenov in connection with the latter's appointment as general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC.

The message voices a conviction that fraternal cooperation between the two parties, enriched with new contents, will deepen and strengthen serving well the two nations and the interests of peace and socialism.

Resignation Welcomed

AU1511164289 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 13 Nov 89 p 7

[Report by Marian Orlikowski: "Hurrah! Zhivkov Goes"]

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, who has governed Bulgaria for 35 years, has tendered his resignation.

When radio and television confirmed the news last Friday [10 November], the residents of Sofia's housing developments threw open their windows and cried "hurrah" so loud that the walls of their houses shook. Strangers congratulated and embraced each other in the streets of Sofia, Plovdiv, Burgas, Varna, and many other towns.

The decision, which was made at Friday's Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, came as a complete surprise to the great majority of society. Press and television noisily announced Zhivkov's new reform proposals: the opening up of the party to views from outside it, the speeding up of economic changes, and the liberalization of information policy. In so far as any personnel decisions were expected at all, it was assumed that they would be primarily confined to a further purge of the great leader's entourage. It was widely believed that those who were in danger included Petur Mladenov, who has been the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs for the past 18 years. It appears that he had vociferously protested the actions of the security service, which had

badly beaten up members of the independent "Ecoglasnost" movement on 26 November.

Meanwhile, according to the official version, the 78-year-old Todor Zhivkov asked the plenum to accept his resignation from the post of general secretary of the party (a post that he had held continuously since 4 March 1954) and the office of State Council chairman (which he has held since 1971) in view of his "advanced years and exhaustion brought on by work."

Zhivkov's successor as party leader was the "threatened" Petur Mladenov. In all probability he will also be the main candidate for the office of State Council chairman.

We asked sociologist Petko Simeonov, a member of the Bulgarian Club for Support of Glasnost and Perestroyka which was set up a year ago, to comment on this "unexpected change of places."

[Simeonov] "In a recent interview for DER SPIEGEL I predicted that there was no force in the Central Committee that could remove Todor Zhivkov, because the ossified power structures constitute the greatest obstacle to any kind of change. We all hope that his departure marks just the beginning of further change in Bulgaria.

"Petur Mladenov, like all our leaders, stood in the shadow of Zhivkov. However, having been foreign minister for a good many years, he has extensive contacts all over the world and he should, therefore, realize what values are respected. That is what makes me optimistic.

"I think that there were at least three reasons for these recent decisions. I would start with the developments in Poland, Hungary, and the USSR, as well as what is happening in the GDR now. They are a catalyst for change in other countries.

"Next, 3 November saw the staging in Sofia of the first large demonstration organized by an independent group, that is, by 'Ecoglasnost.' The number of people taking part in it ran into the tens of thousands. Perhaps those kinds of numbers do not mean much in your country, but it is a really large number for Bulgaria. Those taking part in it chanted 'democracy' and 'openness.' In our quiet society that had a lot of impact; it even sounded deafening. That is the second reason.

"The Soviet Union's position is the third reason. Bulgarian leaders have always maintained close ties with the leadership in Moscow. Sometimes all it took was one quiet conversation in some office, and they would then institute a complete policy turnaround. Petur Mladenov recently came back from a trip to China. He travelled via Moscow in both directions. I think that Mladenov's advancement is something more than a 'cosmetic' change."

Daily Commentary Views Changes

AU1511141489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Nov 89 p 6

[Bogdan Mikolajczyk commentary: "Set on a Brave Course"]

[Text] The course of and the decisions made at Friday's meeting of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] are a clear signal that Bulgaria too has decided to set course for the deep waters of restructuring and democratization. Petur Mladenov, who is 53 years old, has replaced the 78-year old Todor Zhivkov. This is a change that can be labeled a change of generations, but it is not only such a change. The choice of Petur Mladenov also signifies a different political and social experience, and this in turn entails a different way of looking at socialism, the contemporary world, and its horizons.

The name of Todor Zhivkov, who guided the party and the country for 35 years, is synonymous with a whole epoch and almost the whole of Bulgarian postwar history of socialist construction. The following events are linked to this period, namely, the April 1956 Plenum and the party's initial settling of accounts with Stalinism, the course set for rapid industrialization, the modernization of agriculture, and the civilizational advances. It cannot be denied that Bulgaria has made a great leap forward in industrial, urban, and cultural development, thus gaining in stature in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the whole world.

With the passage of time, however, and in the name of stabilization, essential reforms were approached with increasing caution. These approaches only led to a tentative tinkering with the existing reality, rather than to real changes that would have gone to the root of the problems that are part of modern life. The highly publicized Bulgarian reforms of 2 years ago did not bring any breakthrough in any sphere of life, because, as Petur Mladenov stressed at last Friday's meeting, those new and appropriate economic conceptions were not accompanied by the appropriate changes to the political system, the system of government, and the structures of administration and decision making.

In his short speech made immediately after his election to the post of secretary general, Petur Mladenov highlighted those areas that will require profound and rapid changes. There are many of these areas—the openness and pluralism of opinions, the rule of law and the relationship of the people to the government, and the democratization of economic life. The new secretary general also announced the calling of an extraordinary plenum which would undertake a detailed appraisal of the barriers and impediments that stand in the way of Bulgarian restructuring, and decide on the best ways to surmount these. There is only one conclusion—if I may again cite Mladenov, for in my opinion the thought behind these words is characteristic of his whole speech—"We must finally and irrevocably dismantle the

command-administration system and prevent it from ever coming back. In its place we have to create a self-governing civic society organized in a state with a political system that accords with the free choice of all its people. A choice that our people can make once and for all."

The new head of the BCP has been Minister of Foreign Affairs for some 18 years. He is a man who knows the ways of the world and is open to the world. He is a well known personality throughout the world. These factors will also be important for the precise course of socialist restructuring that Bulgaria will eventually take.

Democratic Party Head on GDR, LDPD Relations

AU0911205889 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 6 Nov 89 p 2

[Report by Lothar Heinke on interview with Jerzy Jozwiak, chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of the Polish People's Republic: "Unrenounceable Values"—date and place not given]

[Text] At the end of his 3-day visit to the GDR, in the course of which the 1990 annual agreements between the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] and the Democratic Party of the Polish People's Republic (DP) were signed, we conducted an interview with DP Chairman Jerzy Jozwiak and first asked him about his opinion of the political changes in the GDR.

Jerzy Jozwiak, whose party received three ministries in the recent government reshuffle in Poland (Domestic Trade, Telecommunications, and Scientific and Technological Progress) believes that the process of renewal has only just started, and that it is based on a most favorable economic foundation. The important process of democratization of social life that is beginning, which is also important for the new role and the importance of the People's Chamber, is now also having an increasing impact on the sphere of civil liberties, he said.

He stated that the LDPD's conception supports the reform process and contributes its own ideas for the special nature of parliamentary democracy, which is based on the legal order, an order that used to be characteristic for the Germans.

Both parties carry the term "democratic" in their name. How is this—one might say sacred—term implemented in Poland? Jerzy Jozwiak mentions "unlimited universal values," which ought to be binding and unrenounceable for any really democratic state: civil rights, which apply for all people, no categories of good and bad people, freedom of opinion, freedom of the press—elements that are linked to personal freedom and the term "people's rule"—in other words, humanist values. "If one ignores the fact that these values are universal, one will stumble in walking straight ahead. Therefore, all stumbling blocks must be removed."

Asked how the two parties can promote the process of democratization in their countries, the DP Chairman said that our long-standing relations and the experiences of our two countries permit us to use the best of the rich potential for the development process in the two countries. In this context, Poland feels safe at the side of its neighbor, the GDR, because "there are friendship treaties between us, and there is the peaceful border of the Oder and Neisse Rivers; we can look back on more than 40 years of cooperation in many fields.

In addition, Poland and the GDR are making an important contribution to disarmament and international cooperation"—all this is a guarantee for the security of his people as a neighbor of the GDR, which is renewing itself, Jerzy Jozwiak said in conclusion.

Commentaries, Poll on German Reunification Issue

Solidarity Daily on 'Unification'

AU1511152789 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 13 Nov 89 p 1

[Janusz Reiter commentary: "Carnival on the Wall"]

[Text] Thousands of people from both parts of the city as well as from the FRG took part in the events in West Berlin. Great words, words associated with a festive occasions, were uttered. The word "unification" was not mentioned and that is perhaps a fact that merits attention. It is easy to lose one's head in an outburst of joy. Nothing of this kind happened in Berlin and that is why millions of people all over Europe felt that the German carnival was also to some extent their festival as they viewed the pictures from the city.

One of the speakers in Berlin said that what had happened in the GDR would have been impossible, or at least much more difficult, without the political breakthrough in Poland. The Germans believe that the Polish experience is of such importance, because it indicates a path of radical internal change that does not upset external equilibrium. Poland has demonstrated that it is possible to emerge from socialism without leaving the Warsaw Pact, which seemed impossible until just recently. It has become possible, because the Soviet Union has changed its concept of the alliance. It no longer needs socialism as a guarantee of political-military interests.

The West helped Gorbachev make this fundamental decision about the future of the Warsaw Pact. Criticism of the Yalta system was always directed at its political form, not its military one. Washington respects the rules that are binding in relations between the two superpowers. In 1961, having learned that the Berlin Wall was being built, Kennedy put only one question to his advisers: Does it encroach on U.S. interests in Berlin? The answer was "no."

It is obvious that Gorbachev's advisers, who had to answer a similar question on Soviet interests in Germany over the last few days, had a much more difficult task. The building of the wall consolidated the Yalta order. It is true that the dismantling of the wall does not directly affect the border between the two spheres of influence, but it does pave the way to changes, the final results of which are difficult to envisage. Gorbachev would not have made this move if he had not had one or more alternative plans of action and had not been sure that the West would be a loyal partner.

The two sides have a common interest in, first and foremost, events not proceeding in an uncontrolled manner. Of course, some strains and conflicts are unavoidable. According to West German estimates, about 500,000 GDR citizens want to leave for the West, and it will probably not be possible to dissuade the majority of them from doing so. The departure of these people over a short period of time will to some extent disrupt the functioning of the GDR. Both Krenz and Gorbachev realized this when they decided to open the border between the two German states. The situation would be markedly more dangerous if disappointment prompted by a slow rate of reform and the absence of tangible successes were to incline the Germans to make the question of unification a current issue. For the time being there is nothing to suggest that this may happen, but the events of the past week are just the beginning and not the end of the game. When it ends, Europe will probably be a different continent.

Poll Measures Attitudes

AU1511171089 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Nov 89 p 5

[Report signed 'B.Dr.': "Change in Polish Attitudes Toward Germans"]

[Text] Polls carried out over several years by Polish Radio and Television's Public Opinion Research Center [OBOP] show major changes in Polish attitudes toward Germans. In polls carried out in the 1970's, only 7-8 percent of respondents said they liked the Germans, 60 percent said they did not, and the remainder were indifferent. In 1981, still almost half of respondents said they disliked FRG Germans, and one third of them said they disliked GDR Germans. In the second half of the 1980's, only one third of respondents said they disliked FRG Germans, and one quarter said they disliked GDR Germans.

Investigations carried out in 1989 show that the unpopularity of FRG Germans has fallen even further; 27 percent of respondents said they disliked FRG Germans, 23 said they liked them, and 50 percent remained indifferent. Concerning GDR Germans, the number of respondents who disliked them rose to 28 percent, 20 percent said they liked them, and 52 percent remained indifferent.

The stereotyped image of Germans in the eyes of Poles has also changed. Asked to state the qualities of Germans, the most frequent ones mentioned in 1975 were industriousness, thrift, cruelty, overconfidence, discipline, aggressiveness, rapaciousness, and reliability. Less frequently mentioned were unkindness toward the Poles, bias, envy, egoism, treachery, as well as certain positive features like cleanliness, progressiveness, and punctuality. During this period, negative characteristics occupied 44 percent of all the characteristics attributed by Poles to the Germans; more than to any other people.

In recent years, the picture has become much more positive. Right now, Poles view the Germans almost as favorably as they do the French and Hungarians, who have always been described in favorable terms by Poles. Today, 74 percent of the qualities attributed to FRG and GDR Germans are positive—in other words industriousness, solidarity, good organization, cleanliness, reliability, conscientiousness, and a high level of culture. Only 18 percent of respondents described FRG Germans in negative terms such as biased, overconfident, and ill-disposed toward the Poles, whereas 24 percent said the same about GDR Germans.

Although separate opinion polls have been conducted on the subject of FRG Germans and GDR Germans in recent years, the results are similar.

One poll carried out this month asked several questions about the possibility of German unification, a question similar to ones asked on previous occasions. Here too, opinions have changed. Two years ago, in a poll conducted in 1987, most respondents spoke against German unification. Some 47 percent said there should be no unification, 34 percent said there should, and 20 percent had no comment to make. Today, 46 percent of respondents think the Germans should unite, 34 percent think they should not, and 20 percent have no comment.

Two years ago, half the respondents doubted whether unification would ever occur, whereas today, two-thirds of them think it will. Most of these think it will happen in the distant future.

However, opinions about whether it would be good for Poland if the Germans were to unite have not changed much. In 1987, 18 percent said it would be favorable, 59 percent said it would not, and 23 percent avoided a reply. In the November poll, 24 percent said unification would be good for Poland, 45 percent said it would not, and 31 percent had no comment.

German Unity Ideas Criticized

AU1511124989 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 13 Nov 89 p 2

[Jerzy Markowski commentary: "The Wall...And Around It"]

[Text] The latest events in the GDR, which we have been able to follow thanks to television, look more like an

explosion of German euphoria than anything else. No wonder, watching people dancing on the Berlin Wall. The GDR authorities' sovereign decision to open this border after so many years could not have caused any other reaction. That, too, is understandable. But many commentators are giving this decision a second-rate importance which it does not deserve.

Considerably greater wonder must be caused by the "dance" which some of our commentators are performing around the Wall or, to be more exact, around the events involving the Wall. For example, Mr Jacek Maziarski attempted to give a demonstration of this dance on Polish Television news. Whether he sounded convincing is something I will leave to the viewers to judge. I think that what he said diverged considerably from the commentaries made by Messrs Reiter and Slomkowski. German unification is not just the business of the Germans, whether or not the present events are a prelude to this unification, as Mr Maziarski suggests. German unification is a European problem, a problem for the four powers, chiefly the United States and Soviet Union, the scale of which corresponds to the extent of these countries involvement in Europe. But this is also a problem for neighboring countries, especially Poland, for reasons that are well known.

Forecasting the unification of Germany today, which is what people are doing, seems not only hasty, but also contrary to our raison d'etat. Not even the Germans themselves have touched upon this problem, as if it does not concern them. The talks between Kohl and Krenz have provided nothing but a warning from the GDR leader that this topic is beyond discussion. Chancellor Kohl himself spoke about reforms in the GDR, not about unification. Western leaders, especially of the United States, are also seriously asking themselves whether German unity is desirable. So far, there has not been a single firm statement from across the ocean in favor of it, for everyone knows only too well what it could mean for European stability. After all, whether one likes it or not, German unity would remove a key element from the security arrangements that have formed the basis of European relations since World War II. That is how they see these matters over there. In Europe, in the meantime, instead of thinking rationally, some people are succumbing to emotions, to say nothing of the fact that they are forgetting the Polish raison d'etat.

It is not a Pole, but G Andreotti who said that the Germans are so wonderful that it is good to have two German states. It is a pity that some Poles do not understand that, though they ought to understand it more than anyone else,. The September issue of the British ECONOMIST carried the following statement: "A united FRG and GDR would form a state with 78 million people, an army of over 600,000 men, and a gross national product of $1.4 trillion (1 trillion is equal to 1 million billion), in other words almost half of Japan's. The very thought of this could alarm Germany's neighbors, for example the Poles, regardless of the debate recently resurrected by West Germany on the subject of the validity of Poland's western border along the Odra and Nysa Rivers."

Why can't some Poles realize what is already sufficiently clear to the English? Does pro-unification applause have to come from Poland? One would not think that Poles cannot count or have no imagination. Foreign Minister Skubiszewski has presented the matter clearly—the right to self-determination is one thing, but the inviolability of our western border and that of the postwar territorial status quo now and in the future is another, and is not a subject for bargaining. One regrets the fact that some people east of the Odra and Nysa Rivers have poor eyesight or are inclined to tear the proverbial skin off the bear's back while the bear is still alive. It should be remembered that for 40 years (the 40th anniversary of the Zgorzelec Treaty is next year) we have had on our western border a neighbor that has guaranteed the stability of this border and the sort of friend that many countries would like to have.

Reportage on Mazowiecki-Kohl Joint Statement

PAP Report

LD1411162689 Warsaw PAP in English
1502 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 14—Today's meeting between Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl ended in the signing of a joint statement at the Council of Ministers here.

The two sides stated that they regarded the treaty on the bases of normalization of relations of December 1970 as a lasting foundation of their relations.

Spokeswoman on Statement

LD1511010189 Warsaw PAP in English
2348 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 14—Polish Government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska commented on the joint statement signed at the end of Chancellor Kohl's Polish visit at a press conference here today.

Niezabitowska said that the document, most important since the treaty on the foundations of normalisation of relations between people's Poland and the FRG on December 7, 1970, pertains chiefly to bilateral relations but also expressed the stance on international affairs, especially in Europe, the relations between East and West, the CSCE Final Act, and disarmament.

The package reached in negotiation is impressive and balanced. Both sides made concessions reaching much though not all they had expected to reach.

Poland agreed to compromise in questions which waited years to be solved: taking care of German graves, names, and Polish citizens of German lineage.

Among the unsettled questions Niezabitowska mentioned compensations but the other side showed no desire to discuss that because both states' legal positions are contradictory. According to FRG law, which discriminates Polish people, 99 percent of the victims or persons who suffered wrongs during World War 2 have no legal grounds whatsoever for such claims. The Polish side maintains that these claims are of civil-legal nature and they were not part of the damages and have not been subject to limitation.

The German side did not wish to discuss this issue. Polish prime minister's interlocutor left the topic open so that it may be discussed in future.

Discussing the questions settled during the visit, Government Spokeswoman Niezabitowska mentioned in the first place the problem which is most vital to this country: the inviolability of borders guaranteed by the treaty of December 1970 and by Article 51 of the joint communique.

A major attainment were decisions concerning economic cooperation, that is, the Hermes Guarantees of up to 3 billion dm which equals the sum granted to the Soviet Union. Hungary and GDR will get 2 billion dm in two instalments. The regulation of the jumbo credit obtained by Poland in the 1970s is also very beneficial. Sixty percent of that credit has been annuled while the remaining 40 percent will be converted into Polish currency. It is planned to institute a joint board to handle the spending of that money, the spokeswoman said.

In that part of the conference Malgorzata Niezabitowska referred also to the question which of the plenipotentiaries of the Polish side negotiatited more. Mr Kucza, she said, negotiated about three fourths of the statement's text, but he stopped at that and could not go a step further. Mr Pszon settled the issue. What is more, he settled the most important and most difficult problems, the issue of Polish citizens of German origin including. He concluded the question of terminology and achieved convergence of statements on a number of issues.

As regards the most important question for us, namely Poland's western border, Pszon negotiatied that the German side accepted the Polish version although it had other suggestions, Niezabitowska disclosed.

Moreover, he settled economic issues, the spokeswoman continued, that is he put in details to the question of Hermes Guarantees, jumbo credit, support for our postulates to the IMF and the World Bank. Thus, as regards the package's substance, Mr Pszon's contribution is of particular significance because it concerned the most important problems, both politically and economically.

Next Malgorzata Niezabitowska answered journalists' questions.

One of them concerned the content of Chancellor Kohl's letter to Premier Mazowiecki. In reply the spokeswoman stated that he touched in it upon economic problematique quoting concrete figures which are not included in the joint statement. Besides that, there are no new details in the letter, she said.

Economic problems were the major subject of today's meeting between the premier and the chancellor, Niezabitowska replied to another question. The chancellor confirmed again that the developments in the GDR will not result in the FRG's lesser interest in Poland though such fears had been expressed.

Environment Minister Receives FRG Counterpart

LD1011021989 Warsaw PAP in English
0009 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 9—Polish Minister of Environment and Natural Resources Bronislaw Kaminski met here today with FRG minister for the environment, conservation and reactor safety Klaus Toepfer.

The FRG side was briefed on the state, activities and barriers in environment protection as well as on the existing economic and legal preferences for foreign firms willing to invest their capital in Poland.

Much discussed was air pollution by the power industry with special regard to the emission of sulphur compounds. The sides agreed that the protection of Baltic waters should find itself among priorities together with recycling of toxic industrial waste and with cooperation in the setting up of an integrated network of European monitoring.

The Polish side announced that it would soon sign the convention on protection of and ban on trade in rare species of wild animals.

Toepfer invited Polish specialists for several months' practice at his ministry, aimed at presenting to them FRG environmental problems and the way they are solved.

Genscher Affirms Right To Secure Borders

LD1411134989 Warsaw PAP in English
1252 GMT 14 Nov 89

[By PAP correspondent Eugeniusz Guz: "Genscher: Odra-Nysa Border Forejudged Once and For All"—PAP headline]

[Text] Bonn, Nov 14—Asked by the RTL Luxembourg radio station how much Poles could be sure that the FRG would finally cease border discussions, FRG Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher answered:

"The right of the Polish people to live in secure borders for good should not be questioned by anybody in our country either now or in the future. That is why the adoption of the Bundestag resolution by the overwhelming majority of votes has such a great significance because it thus creates a sense of border security.

"The FRG is absolutely not interested in destabilizing the situation in Europe. On the contrary, we want stable frame conditions in Europe. These frame conditions of stability include ensuring a conviction to the Polish people that Germans, irrespective of the forms in which they coexist, will never question the Polish western border."

Reportage on Skubiszewski's 3-Day Visit to Norway

Arrives in Oslo

LD1411004189 Warsaw PAP in English 2202 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Oslo, Nov. 13—Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski landed at Oslo Airport with a many-hour delay caused by bad weather conditions this Monday [13 November].

During his three-day visit Polish-Norwegian political talks will be held. He will also meet with the leading personalities of the Norwegian political and economic life.

Both countries are expected to sign an agreement on early warning about nuclear accidents, on cooperation in the field of nuclear security, and on radiological protection.

Late in the evening today Norwegian Foreign Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik honoured the Polish guest with a dinner.

Holds Talks, Received by King

LD1411235489 Warsaw PAP in English 2231 GMT 14 Nov 89

[By PAP correspondent Tomasz Walat]

[Text] Oslo, Nov 14—Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski continued his Norwegian visit today. His second day here was dominated by Polish-Norwegian political talks.

Skubiszewski was received at an audience by King of Norway Olav 5th and met with members of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Norwegian Storting, and also with representatives of the Polish community living in this country. The delegation laid flowers at the monument to Polish Air Force men who died in air battles in Norway during World War, situated at the Vestre Cemetery in Oslo.

PAP correspondent was told that the negotiating sides were in favour of a cooperation leading to a free and democratic Europe in which the present political, military, and economic divisions will be overcome.

Poland is ready to recognize the interests of security spheres of the sides involved and regions but it rejects the policy of spheres of influence which has resulted in the so bad experience in the past.

Krzysztof Skubiszewski comprehensively described the policy of the Mazowiecki cabinet. He said that going back to the question of borders would be harmful to peace and European security. Both sides agreed that European borders must be respected.

Much attention was paid to the changes in the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Admitting that they are highly significant to the improvement of the situation in Europe and to giving the European order sound foundations, the negotiators exchanged views particularly on the developments in the GDR and their impact on the entire Europe.

Poland is interested in GDR reforms but also in stabilisation in that country which is an important component of the European system, they stressed.

The delegations also expressed an opinion that both military systems existing in Europe, namely, the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO, are part of the European security system. These systems should, however, be reduced to the really defensive functions.

On his last day in Norway tomorrow, November 15, Minister Skubiszewski will meet with Prime Minister of Norway Jan P. Syse. Both countries will sign an agreement on cooperation in nuclear power industry.

Ends Visit, Meets Press

LD1611053489 Warsaw PAP in English 1736 GMT 15 Nov 89

[By PAP Correspondent Tomasz Walat]

[Text] Oslo, Nov 15—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski ended today his official visit to Norway.

On Wednesday [15 November] Skubiszewski was received by Norwegian Prime Minister Jan P. Syse who accepted with satisfaction an invitation to pay a visit to Poland. The sides also signed an agreement on early notification of nuclear accidents and on cooperation in nuclear safety and radiological protection. The document was signed by Skubiszewski and Norwegian Minister of Environment Kristin Hille Valla.

Our relations with the states of Scandinavia have always been very intensive, Skubiszewski told a press conference. Today, we are going to further expand them. A Baltic conference, to be held following an initiative of Poland and Sweden, should help achieve this goal. It will deal above all with environmental protection, but also with cooperation between port towns and the expansion of trade.

The current developments in the GDR must be welcomed with satisfaction, Skubiszewski said, for they help carry out the process of reconstructing Europe's unity. Asked whether those events could help open up a possibility of a reunification of Germany, Skubiszewski stressed that it was impossible to restore the pre-war order in Europe. This would produce a crisis which nobody would want to occur. Reunification of Germany

is not an affair of the German nation alone but a pan-European problem of a very complex character.

Asked if Poland was given satisfactory guarantees as to her western borders, Skubiszewski said that both the speech delivered by Hans-Dietrich Genscher at the United Nation, the Bundestag statement and Chancellor Kohl's statements in Warsaw, regardless of the existing treaties, offered such guarantees though statements on the issue are not lacking in West Germany which still ignore the present realities.

Skubiszewski also stressed that Poland fully accepted her eastern borders and thought this chapter definitely closed.

Referring to the Warsaw Treaty and Poland's role within the alliance, Skubiszewski reiterated that Poland did not intend to leave the treaty. However, Poland thinks that this is an organization of an external, defensive character and it must not interfere in internal affairs of its member-states.

Later on, Minister Skubiszewski and Minister Kjelle Magne Bondevik left Oslo for Strasbourg.

Skubiszewski Arrives in Strasbourg 15 Nov

LD1611053789 Warsaw PAP in English
1852 GMT 15 Nov 89

[By PAP Correspondent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, Nov 15—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski arrived in Strasbourg from Oslo tonight to attend a session of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe which affiliates 23 Western European countries.

Last June, Poland was granted the status of the council's permanent guest, so was Hungary, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

The programme of Skubiszewski's visit envisages talks with members of the Political Commission and the Commission for Relations with Non-Member Countries. He will also hold talks with the Council's Foreign Ministers Committee, chaired at present by head of the Norwegian diplomacy Kjell Magne Bondevik.

On Friday, ratification documents on Poland's accession to the European Cultural Convention will be submitted to the Council. The Polish side will also sign a convention on supra-border television and a convention on doping control.

Minister Meets Delors in Brussels 9 Nov

LD0911231689 Warsaw PAP in English
2229 GMT 9 Nov 89

[By PAP correspondent Ireneusz Lukasik]

[Text] Brussels, Nov. 9—Visiting Polish Minister Witold Trzeciakowski met today with president of the Commission of the European Communities Jacques Delors.

The spokesman for Delors reported that the meeting had been extremely constructive and excellently prepared a visit to Poland by Delors between this Nov 16 and 19.

The sides discussed possibilities of cooperation in various sectors within a program of aid for Poland and Hungary, coordinated by the EC commission. They also focused on changes in the structure of Polish farming. Trzeciakowski has been coordinating on the Polish side cooperation in the implementation of the program of assistance.

At today's press conference Delors spoke about his visit to Poland which he would pay together with Roland Dumas, French foreign minister and present president of the EC Council of Ministers.

The first aim of the visit we will pay together is to concretely and politically manifest our solidarity and our friendship towards the Polish people, towards the Hungarian people, Delors stated.

We also aim to take a clear view, as a result of discussions with representatives of authorities and political life, on Polish and Hungarian needs and aspirations. Since it is unacceptable for us to specify the needs of Poles and Hungarians instead of themselves, he said.

Jaruzelski Meets Philippines Senate President

LD0911203489 Warsaw PAP in English
1920 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 9—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received President of the Philippine Senate Jovito Salonga today. The latter is now on a visit to Poland at the invitation from the Polish Senate.

Pointing to the invariability of general assumptions of Polish foreign policy and the will to develop mutually beneficial cooperation with all countries, Wojciech Jaruzelski conveyed greetings to Philippine President Mrs Corazon Aquino who would be greeted with pleasure in Poland at a date convenient for both sides, in tune with the earlier extended invitation.

Reportage on Premier's Appeals, Miners' Reactions

Opinions on Appeal Cited

LD1311135989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] The Premier Appeals. How do the Miners respond? Under these titles today's papers carry the text of the radio and television speech by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki on the 71st anniversary of the regaining of independence by Poland. Toward the end, referring to the economic situation in the country, the premier

reported that in relation to needs there is a shortage of 13.5 million tonnes of coal. He also said that there is no alternative to incresing production. At this time of national need he appealed to the miners such that until the end of the year and in the first quarter of next year they undertake work on Saturdays and thereby increase coal production. GAZETA WYBORCZA writes today about the first rections to the appeal by Premier Mazowiecki. In Silesia there is a complete surprise. This is the opinion reported by the paper's correspondent after gathering information on the subject of the response to Saturday's appeal by the premier. The miners are cautious. They reply that they must consult among themstlves.

Here are a few opinions: (Grzegorz Stawski), mine technician, chairman of Solidarity at the Manifest Lipcowy mine, and member of the presidium of the National Mining Commission [KKG], says: we should of course assist this administration, this is the result of the mandate of trust that it received from us during the elections. Nonetheless, how will the request of the premier be received? In my view the time of appeals is over.

(Marian Krzakiewski), lecturer at the Silesian Polytechnic and deputy chairman of the Silesia-Dabrowa region of Solidarity says that, in the roundtable talks, the voluntary nature of working free Saturdays was a key issue for us. In this situation, however, I think that we will all support the appeal of Premier Mazowiecki. Perhaps the miners will even want to work one Saturday for free.

Andrzej Lipko, member of the Presidium of the Solidarity KKG, an expert on remuneration matters says: I will vote for the acceptance of the appeal by Premier Mazowiecki at today's Presidium. He is our man and he has asked us for this.

In turn, Adam Stepecki, chairman of Solidarity at the Jastrzebie mine, feels that the union should not try to persuade anyone to take up the appeal. Let everyone undertake the decision for themselves, he said.

The paper also requested a statement on the subject of the Premier's appeal from the deputy chairman of the National Trade Union Accord, Waclaw Martyniuk. It seems to me that the situation must be very difficult if the premier of a government from out of Solidarity addresses an appeal for the suspension of the accords from August 1980, August 1988 and the roundtable agreements. Secondly, I recall all the digressions of both and the previous government and Solidarity at the roundtable on the subject of the deficits of mines and their unprofitability and the necessity to close them. And, thirdly every activity irrespective of what government is in power, Waclaw Martyniuk stressed, must concentrate on man and the satisfaction of his needs, including, of course, rest. I wish the premier success in his appeal.

Miners' Solidarity Reaction Viewed

LD1311175189 Warsaw PAP in English 1636 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Katowice, Nov 13—At today's session here the presidium of the Solidarity National Mining Commission took a stand on Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's appeal to miners for work on Saturdays.

The presidium's statement said, in part: "The form of the appeal for work on Saturdays is interpreted by mining crews as taking account of mining only at moments difficult for the country, just like it happened in previous years.

"The swollen problems of mining ensuing from its functioning in the costly organizational and economic-financial system, incapacitation of mining crews, bad atmosphere around mining, caused by insufficient information provided to society and the government, require an urgent meeting between representatives of Mining Solidarity and Premier Mazowiecki as well as with the ministers of industry and of finances, aimed to discuss conditions for an effective realization of the appeal."

PZPR Issues Statement

LD1311194989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Statement issued by Jan Bisztyga, the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee's press spokesman, on 13 November; place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The appeal by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki to miners to increase the extraction of coal and to work on free Saturdays, touches vital issues for the whole society. During the roundtable discussions the Federation of Mining Trade Unions also put forward the demand to cease mining coal on Saturday. We agreed to the decision made at the roundtable, including respecting for the miners' right to a Saturday rest, in the name of national reconciliation. The Rakowski government implemented that demand of the trade unions, as well as of both the National Trade Union Alliance and also Solidarity. Miners themselves or their representation may change those decisions.

Kuron Talks to Miners

LD1511023889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] No joint stand was reached during today's meeting between representatives of the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, the Ministry of Industry, the National Mining Commission of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, the Federation of Miners' Trade Union, and the Pit Maintenance Trade Union Accord, held to adopt a standpoint on Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's appeal to increase the extraction of hard coal and the undertaking of work by miners on

free Saturdays. However, Minister Jacek Kuron, following a heated discussion, tried to sum up what will be presented during a meeting with Premier Mazowiecki.

The practice of discussing mining problems only when there is a danger of a coal shortage was acknowledged as being a bad one. Miners' Solidarity admitted that reserves from extraction on the so-called black days from Monday to Friday are so large that their utilization might replace the extraction of coal on black Saturdays. Solidarity feels that all the intermediary structures should be liquidated. The Miners' Federation, in turn, is for the removal of the enterprises for the exploitation of coal, but sees a danger in too rapid a pace of change. That is why the intermediary structures in mining ought to continue functioning for a certain time. The Pit Maintenance, however, is in favor of a reform of mining, following examples already found in Europe. In addition, it does not see reserves resulting from coal extraction on the so-called black days which the Mining Solidarity representatives talked about.

Mazowiecki Meets Miners Representatives

LD1511234989 Warsaw PAP in English
2152 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 15—I am grateful that all miners' trade unions responded in general positively to my request to increase coal extraction on Saturdays. It is of particular importance for the economy. I am also aware of various critical remarks that go along with these declarations. We must talk about it and not only today, said Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki here today at a meeting with representatives of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions, of the "Solidarnosc" National Mining Commission and of the Alliance of Mining Supervisors' Trade Unions.

Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron presented the main points of the talks held in the same composition in the Ministry of Industry on Tuesday:

—While being fully aware of the situation in economy, the three unions express only moderate support for the appeal.

—There is similar convergence of convictions about the necessity of reforms and the need to talk about miners' problems not only accidentally or in dramatic situations but also in every day routine. The views on directions of changes suggested by the Minister of Industry are also more or less convergent.

—Neither are there considerable discrepancies on the fact that mining industry is still surrounded by the unsound atmosphere of envy and misunderstanding. It relates especially to subsidies which in fact do not go for mining industry but for the most power consuming sectors of economy.

—Major discrepancies between the Solidarnosc and the federation concern the pace and scope of changes in the mining structures. The former votes for radical measures while the latter one thinks that hasty actions may bring harm to both mining industry and the whole economy.

PZPR Politburo Supports Appeal

LD1511231389 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 2200 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] The PZPR [People's United Workers Party] Central Committee has supported the appeal of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki to miners to work on Saturdays. It has requested the miners and power industry workers to organize initiatives aimed at preventing fuel and electricity shortages. The need to resolve this key problem of economic and social dimensions should take precedence over group interests or political beliefs, the PZPR Central Committee statement says.

Issues Statement

LD1511235689 Warsaw PAP in English
2210 GMT 15 Nov 89

["Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee Political Bureau's statement"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 15—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's appeal for miners' work on Saturdays confirms that functioning of the whole Polish economy, from industry to municipal management to food production, depends on coal extraction.

The need to build the national agreement prompts us not to rebuke one for the moves used for political struggle in the past. But it is difficult, especially in the current situation in mining industry, to forget that in the past solidarnosc units took up actions to force lower coal extraction without considering the country's needs.

At present visible is the scale of threats for the whole economy resulting from these actions. Hence surprising are at least attempts to lay responsibility for the present situation on those who kept on taking efforts with a view to maintaining the undiminished level of coal extraction.

We oppose actions that stir up political struggle in enterprises at the cost of economy. They are reflected in attempts to remove party units from enterprises and in unjustified attacks against the party managerial staff. It does not serve to the national agreement without which no government can succeed.

Poland needs and will continue to need coal and we must discuss it first of all with miners how to obtain it.

Dockers May Strike Over Nuclear Parts Unloading

LD1611100989 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 2100 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] The Gdansk information agency, Solidarity, today informed the Polish Press Agency that at a plenary meeting of the regional temporary board of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity,

which was held 2 days earlier, a resolution was adopted, an appeal to Gdansk, Gdynia, and Szczecin dockers to refuse to unload nuclear reactors, destined for the power station in Zarnowiec.

Henryk (?Torbycki), the deputy director of Zarnowiec, said that the quickest possible unloading of the ship, whose stay in the port costs after all thousands of dollars, in no way prejudiced the matter of the installation of the reactors. That was dependent on a government decision on the future of the nuclear power station.

Farmers Strike in Suwalki Voivodship 15 Nov

LD1511113889 Warsaw PAP in English 1024 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Suwalki, Nov 15—This morning, farmers went on strike in the rural communities of Giby, Sejny and Krasnopol, in the Suwalki voivodship, North Eastern Poland, blocking access roads to the milk purchasing centres and protesting against the growing prices of agricultural machinery and lower purchase prices of milk.

The strike was organized on the initiative of the provisional regional committee of the Solidarnosc of private farmers.

Colonels Interviewed on Polish Arms Exports

AU1411123989 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 10-12 Nov pp 4, 5

[Interview with Colonel Piotr Pawluczuk and Colonel Wladyslaw Szewczyk, director and deputy director of the Central Board of Engineering of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, respectively, by Wlodzimierz Kalicki: "I Will Sell A Good Tank on Favorable Terms"—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Kalicki] What is the situation with Polish arms exports now?

[Answer] Complicated. Military conflicts are dying down, we are clearly entering a new era of general detente. As a result, the demand for offensive weapons is also falling, especially the demand for tanks, which has been the basis of our arms exports for years. Because of this, domestic producers of armored vehicles are producing to excess. As citizens, we are pleased with this situation, but as businessmen, we are worried. During war, many importers reduced other expenditures and paid for our tanks in cash. But during a period of detente, they want to buy them on credit. We cannot agree to that because it would increase inflation. Other socialist countries, however, can afford to grant long-term credits, and in this way they can push us off a market in which we were firmly situated for many years. In other socialist countries, the demand for tanks is also falling, in addition to which it is compulsory to balance out exports. A client frequently wants to buy something from us, but also wants to sell us something which our army does not need for the time being.

The way to maintain the level of arms exports is to present an attractive offer, but that depends on the economy. Modernity costs money, beginning the production of new types of armaments requires capital spending which our industry cannot afford right now. There is no use hiding the fact that soon we will fall rapidly behind world standards in this sphere.

A chance for Poland is presented by the continuing demand for radio equipment and command systems, and the growing interest in repair and refitting services and in modernizing the equipment one already has. Many of our clients want to start producing their own armaments. Therefore there is a possibility of undertaking industrial cooperation, selling licenses and subcomponents, and commencing joint production on their own territory. We have already undertaken such activity, for example we have recently signed several contracts involving selling microwave and optical electronic technology.

Deals with arms collectors are growing in importance. In 1986 we sold 20 T-34 tanks to England, in 1988 we sold many LIM-5 aircraft also to England, and this year we sold 7 LIMs to Canada. Someone in Canada is turning 1944 cavalry rifles into very fashionable and expensive table lamps. All these deals bring in considerable sums of money.

If we had at our disposal German weapons from World War II, for which there is an enormous demand, we could earn more with these weapons than on the weapons we are producing ourselves. Unfortunately, large quantities of German weapons were simply destroyed after the war.

[Kalicki] What do you think of demonopolizing arms trade?

[Answer] We are in favor of economic efficiency. Why should we not lose our monopoly? Present legislation foresees such a possibility. The minister of foreign economic cooperation has the right to grant concessions. We think that if some foreign trade enterprise wins a valuable contract, it should have the right to perform it.

Nevertheless, we are opposed to general concessions for arms trade. A lack of control over arms trade, coupled with a desire to achieve profits at all costs, may lead to a violation of the Polish raison d'etat and entangle Poland in international affairs, with incalculable consequences. This danger can be illustrated by the fact that immediately after the terrorists had blown up the passenger aircraft over Great Britain, we were asked for small quantities of explosive material similar to the Semtex used by the terrorists. After we had twice said no, a Polish chemical consortium asked for permission to sell 25 kg of this material to a private dealer in the West. We refused.

Arms trade must be controlled by the government, and the current legislation ensures this. As a firm specializing in arms trade, the Central Board of Engineering must remain a government agent, though it need not necessarily fall under the state budget. We have long-standing

experience and contacts. Some clients would prefer to deal with government agencies.

[Question] Are you in favor of maintaining and expanding arms exports?

[Answer] Yes. Arms exports have always been more lucrative than civilian exports. Apart from that, our army will need more weapons, to be obtained by importing them, and foreign currency will be needed for this. This is more necessary than ever before.

PAP Report

LD1011174589 Warsaw PAP in English
1612 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 10: Today's GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarnosc daily published the second part of its interview with Col Piotr Pawluczuk, director of the Central Board of Engineering at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation Cenzin and his deputy Col Wladyslaw Szewczuk concerning Poland's arms exports, the first part of which appeared in the daily on November 9, 1989. Excerpts:

Q: What is the technique of arms trade?

A: We are a state-owned firm and we are subject to all rigors of international arms trade. We collect orders through our representatives abroad; sometimes the purchaser contacts us by himself. The plan of transaction is arranged with the foreign ministry which has the right to veto. We trade exclusively with government agencies or firms having government concession.

We strictly observe the basic norms in the arms trade. For instance, we do not sell weapons to both sides of some conflict at the same time. We do not sell weapons to terrorists.

Q: Did the polish weapons not go to Iraq and Iran during the combat operations?

A: We exported weaponry to Iraq, not to Iran. We are dead sure that the Cenzin did not export arms to Iran.

Q: Was there a case that some financially profitable contract did not come to effect because of the Foreign Ministry's objections?

A: Naturally. For instance, purchasers from Israel and the Republic of South Africa strived for imports of the Polish weapons—in vain.

Q: Does the Cenzin sign contracts on training soldiers?

A: Yes. In the 1950's we trained seamen from Indonesia, then Indian seamen and Syrian pilots. In the years 1979-87 we trained many seamen, pilots and military doctors from Libya, whereas in 1986 Vietnamese officers and here was an exception—the training was free of charge. Currently we are training Algerian pilots. Greater part of the trainings is conducted in Poland, but we also realised contracts on training servicemen in their countries. For instance, Polish specialists taught at the Libyan military academies for many years.

Q: Were the Polish service teams sent also to the countries which conducted combat operations?

A: Of course, but the training was always held in the hinterland.

Q: Did Polish military specialists ever participate in struggle?

A: Those sent by the Cenzin never fought for sure.

Q: And none of them got killed?

A: We know nothing of such a case.

Q: Is not the arms exports by the Cenzin to guerrilla movements a breach of the principle of signing contracts only with governmental agencies?

A: We trade with these movements which have political representations recognised by the Polish Government, the PLO or SWAPO for instance.

Q: What do they buy from us?

A: An equipment applicable in guerrilla fights: firearms, munition, grenades and first aid articles.

Q: Anti-aircraft missiles?

A: We have not signed such contracts with people liberation movements.

Q: Does Poland re-export weapons?

A: Cenzin does not for sure and we doubt very much that someone else could do this. We would surely find out about this. In the small world of weapons trade, news spread fast and there are surprisingly few secrets.

Q: Have you gentlemen heard of cases of Polish weapons being re-exported?

A: The exports contracts which we sign always contain a clause prohibiting re-exports. Thus far we have not stated cases of Polish arms being re-exported.

Q: Does Cenzin not come across accusations that it does business with shadowy clients or outright terrorists?

A: No

Q: What about the cases of terrorist attacks on the synagogue in Paris and the airport in Ankara?

A: In both these assaults Polish-Made RAK machine guns were used. A detailed investigation conducted under international control, nonetheless revealed that they came into the possesion of the terrorist without the knowledge and consent of Polish factors. We assure you that for the last 25 years we have had an absolutely clean record in this respect.

Q: But you trade with Libya which is accused of supporting international terrorism.

A: It is not for us to assess the correctness of these accusations. We can only state that the weapons purchased from us by Libya never surfaced in any terrorist operation. There are enough go-betweens offering unmarked weapons on the global market—without any questions and preconditions. An illustration of this procedure is the fact that RAK machine guns have been copied by a certain state without our consent and that this state sells unmarked pieces of it cheaply and to everyone willing to buy.

Q: What is the current scope of Polish military aid to other countries?

A: Between 1988-1989, basing on the decisions or resolutions of the presidium of the government, we handled free-of-charge military supplies to Kampuchea, South Yemen, Mozambique, Nicaragua and SWAPO in Namibia.

We sent only equipment and materials earmarked from the reserves of the Ministry of National Defence and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, overhauled so-called older models. These were mortars, guns and ammunition, grenade launchers, hand grenades, crackers, uniforms, medicine, and medical dressings.

The value of these supplies oscillates between 0.153 percent in 1986 to 0.145 percent in 1988 of the value of all the Polish arms exports.

Chief of Staff Discusses Polish Army Strength

AU0711185989 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3 Nov 89 pp 3, 4

[Article by General Jozef Urzycki, chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces and deputy minister of defence: "How Large Are Our Armed Forces?"]

[Text] In the last few months, the Polish Armed Forces have become the focus of particular attention in many spheres inside and outside Poland. This is evident from the many estimates as to its numbers, the state of its technical equipment, various analyses of its expenditure, and suggestions as to what sort of role it should play. The Armed Forces have become a fashionable subject for the newspapers, radio, and television—where lately there have been many discussions on this topic and similar programs. The process which gave the impulse for all this attention was provided by the political and military improvement in East-West relations. This, coupled with the economic crisis in which we now find ourselves, has presented us with the opportunity to reduce our Armed Forces.

One often comes across the opinion that Poland—compared to other European countries—keeps a disproportionately large army. Some people put Poland in second, while others in third place, on the European scale. There are even people who maintain that our forces have too much expensive weaponry, technical equipment, and too many generals, and so on.

Not to be accused of writing without facts, I will cite from one of these sources. In the American daily NEW YORK TIMES, dated 22 September 1989, in the article entitled: "The Polish Army—The Enigma in the Soviet Alliance," B.E. Trainer writes that the Polish Army occupies third place after the Soviet Union in terms of the size of the Armed Forces in Europe. I will not bother to cite from Polish sources, because these are well known to the readership.

As a result of such pronouncements various myths about our Army begin to form. The authors of these myths, consciously or unconsciously, are instrumental in forming misconceptions in Polish society about the size and military strength of the Polish Armed Forces, and the real costs of the upkeep of such forces. For the most part, these take a sensationalist approach which is usually based on highly selective military parameters. We soldiers, however, are bound by comprehensive and strict staff calculations.

The objective truth about our Armed Forces is different, and one does not have to look very far to realize this. One only has to compare the numbers of the armed forces (soldiers and basic armament) of the Warsaw Pact countries with those of NATO in Europe. The pertinent figures were published in the Polish press on 30 January 1989, and here we shall find the true details concerning the Polish Armed Forces. One can also consult other accessible sources, for example, the publication MILITARY BALANCE, where detailed information on this problem is given annually, or the reports of the International Institute of Strategic Studies (based in London), which also publishes up-to-date information on the state of the armed forces throughout the whole world.

In order to avoid controversy in the interpretation of the given data on the Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces, I have taken as the basis for my considerations the information that has been officially published by the two alliances (each alliance writing about its own armed forces):

—"Declaration of the Committee of the Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Pact Member States on the numbers and armament of the Warsaw Pact..." (30 January 1989) which relates to the armies of the Warsaw Pact;

—NATO publication "Conventional Forces in Europe—The facts" (25 November 1988) and "THE MILITARY BALANCE" for the years 1987 and 1988.

Up to now, the general figures given in these publications have not been contested by anyone.

Drawing on these materials, let us attempt to make some meaningful comparisons of the relative armed force strength and basic armaments in Europe.

In order to make more sense of these comparisons we have to accept three fundamental indicators which will be identical for all the armies:

—The composition of the armed forces in absolute numbers;

—The size of the armed forces in relation to the population of the country; and,

—The size of the armed forces compared to the size of the country. [ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI presents all the tables in Bar-Graph Form]

Table 1. The numerical strength of the armed forces of selected European countries (given in '000's of troops).

1. Soviet Union	— 2,485
2. Turkey	— 654
3. France	— 547
4. FRG	— 488
5. Italy	— 388
6. U.S. Troops (Europe and offshore waters)	— 380
7. Poland	— 347
8. Spain	— 325
9. Great Britain	— 319
10. Greece	— 209
11. Czechoslovakia	— 200
12. GDR	— 173
13. Romania	— 171

As regards the basic military equipment that each army possesses, we have used six fundamental parameters of tanks, infantry combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers, artillery (rocket launchers, cannon, mortars), warplanes, combat helicopters, and warships.

I want to stress here that when we are discussing the armies of Europe, we cannot ignore the U.S. Army stationed in Europe and its offshore waters, nor that part of it in the northeast Atlantic. Further, we cannot ignore the Turkish Army—Turkey is after all a signatory of the North Atlantic Pact.

The statistical data given in the tables represents the current numerical strength of the largest armies of several NATO and Warsaw Pact states. Set next to one another, these elements of the armed forces of these selected states enable us to make various and different comparisons. The results that emerge are exteremely interesting. They allow us to place each of these countries exactly in order according to the main military indices that we may chose. I hope the readers will excuse the fact that I will give only some of these comparisons, as to even attempt to give fuller comparisons would take up too much space.

As a result of the comparisons, we can categorically state that the Polish Armed Forces are nowhere near the top of the European league. Most of the statistical parameters place them rather far down the table.

Thus, for example, taking into consideration the numerical strength of the armed forces that are being compared (see Table 1), Poland emerges in seventh place (the Soviet Union apart—Turkey, France, FRG, Italy, and the United States all precede us). We must remember that after the announced reduction of the Polish Armed Forces by another 33,000, which is expected to take place before the end of the current year, Poland will then slip to ninth place.

Table 2. The relationship between the size of the armed forces and the population of the selected European states (in percent).

1. Greece	— 2.09
2. Bulgaria	— 1.13
3. Czechoslovakia	— 1.28
4. Turkey	— 1.25
5. Soviet Union	— 1.21
6. GDR	— 1.03
7. Hungary	— 1.01
8. France	— 0.98
9. Belgium	— 0.92
10. Poland	— 0.91
11. Norway	— 0.88
12. Spain	— 0.84
13. FRG	— 0.82

If we then consider this from the point of view of a comparison of the numerical strength of the armed forces to the size of their respective population (see Table 2), Poland is in 10th place with 0.91 percent. At the end of 1989 it will drop to 0.83 percent and slide down to 12th place. Poland also occupies 10th place from the point of view of the numbers of soldiers compared to the total area of the country (1.11 soldiers for every square kilometer—see Table 3), but at the end of his year it will drop to 12th place with a figure of one soldier for every square kilometer. In this table of comparisons, Belgium comes out at the top of the table, with a figure that is almost three times higher than in Poland, followed by the Netherlands and the FRG (almost two times higher than Poland), and Greece, Great Britain, Italy, GDR, Czechoslovakia, which are only just above us.

Poland again occupies positions toward the bottom of the table as regards certain types of military equipment (see Table 4). Speaking in the broadest terms, we are preceded here by the Soviet Union, by the FRG and Great Britain, and in certain categories of military equipment, by France, Czechoslovakia, and other countries.

Table 3. The relationship between the size of the armed forces to the land area of the selected European states (numbers of soldiers per each square kilometer).

1. Belgium	—2.98
2. Netherlands	—2.58
3. FRG	—1.97
4. GDR	—1.60
5. Greece	—1.58
6. Czechoslovakia	—1.56
7. Great Britain	—1.31
8. Italy	—1.29
9. Hungary	—1.15
10. Poland	—1.11
11. Bulgaria	—1.06
12. France	—1.01
13. Turkey	—0.84

Those readers who consider statistical data as irrefutable, might be interested in some other comparisons. These have been done and have produced various comparisons, for example, between the numbers of a particular category of military weapons and the total area of the country. These produce some very surprising results indeed. For example, let us take tanks. In the Netherlands, for every 1,000 square kilometers, there are 18 tanks; in the FRG, there are 17; in Greece, there are 11; neutral Switzerland has 20, and Poland has 10 tanks for every 1,000 square kilometers.

These are the facts. They have one advantage over the myths that circulate about our Army, namely, they do not change with every shift of opinion. They reflect the true state of affairs.

Table 4. Weaponry of the Polish Armed Forces compared to other European Armies.

(a) shows total numbers of equipment and position in Europe;

(b) shows numbers of equipment for every 1,000 square kilometers and position in Europe.

	(a)	(b)
Tanks	3,330— 4th	10.6— 9th
Infantry Combat Vehicles and Armored Personnel Carriers	4,855— 9th	16.0— 11th
Rocket Artillery, Cannon and Mortars	3,065— 5th	9.8— 9th
Warplanes	480— 4th	1.5— 11th
Combat Helicopters	43—15th	0.1— 15th
Large Surface Vessels and submarines	3—17th	0.01—15th

Poland, whose total land area makes up 5 percent of the continent of Europe (eighth place) and whose population, 5.5 percent of the continent (seventh place), has an army which in the above stated statistical terms is comparatively smaller than the armies of the European states that have been mentioned. Compared to the total European armed forces, Poland has 4.9 percent of the troops; 4.07 percent of all the tanks; 4.11 percent of infantry combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers; 3.44 percent of rocket artillery, cannon, and mortars; 3.73 percent of the warplanes; 0.79 percent of the combat helicopters; and 0.29 percent of large warships. This clearly shows that the general proportion of the military ratios has not been upset by us, but conversely, our proportion remains very modest.

Comparing our Army with the armies of other European countries, I would like to underline the fact that these comparisons totally ignore the quality of the military equipment. It is no secret that, in comparison to some highly developed countries, the quality of some of our military equipment comes out very badly.

We have also ignored the geographical factors. Again, it is no secret that the geographical position of a country has an extremely important bearing on it defensibility, for example, islands, or hilly, or marshy, or densely wooded regions have always been easier to defend, unlike the wide open areas, for example, the North European Plain.

Approaching the problems stemming from our defensiveness from the practical point of view and planning for its further development—the quantity and quality of our Armed Forces—we are guided, above all else, by the security needs of our country. The numbers that are arrived at from this point of view—bearing in mind our external situation—are regarded by us as the necessary level to assure us the acceptable minimum for our perceived defensive requirements.

We are all witnessing the dramatic economic situation, and we are trying to do as much as we can to alleviate—in part at least—its consequences. With this aim in mind we have done the following:

—We have substantially reduced the total numbers of our Armed Forces;
—We have substantially reduced the numbers of our basic military equipment (tanks, infantry combat vehicles, armored personnel carriers, artillery, and planes);
—We have limited imports of armaments;
—We have converted a not insignificant part of the defense industry to production for the civil market and reduced defense production correspondingly;
—We have adapted our system of training the reserves and made it more economical, thus ensuring that it is less of a burden on the economy of the state;
—We have made savings in other areas of army life;

Detailed information about all these matters has been appearing regularly in the mass media.

Taking advantage of the favorable political situation, we undertook all those actions in the belief that similar steps would be taken by the NATO countries. So far, nothing of the sort has occurred. We still witness these countries keeping their forces on previous numerical levels, but with a parallel accelerating tempo of improvement in their quality.

Thus, the material base which poses a threat to Europe has not been eliminated yet. This aspect fills us with constant anxiety and apprehension for the security of our country.

Further unilateral reductions in our Armed Forces cannot continue ad infinitum. The reductions have their limits, and if these are passed it could undermine the defensive capability of the country.

If the Vienna negotiations bring the anticipated joint decisions we will be able to take the next significant steps in this direction.

In the present conditions—bearing in mind the complicated economic situation—we want to assure our country security with the least expenditure. The devaluation of the currency cannot at the same time mean the devaluation of our security.

In contemporary conditions, a state that is weak economically and defensively is ignored by stronger states, and it is pushed onto the sidelines of international coexistence. History shows that nobody cares too much about the weak.

Therefore, we must not put ou?M?lves in the position of having to rely on the good will of the states that are stronger economically and militarily. Nor can we exclusively rely on the support of our allies. Our allies want to be able to count on us just as much as we would like to be able to count on them. In military-defensive alliances each state is bound by a voluntary agreement to render a defined level of assistance in the larger scheme of mutual defense. This is the essence of all alliances.

On no account must we leave the fate of the country to mere providence. Our 1,000-year-old history has often shown that this has been far too little. We experienced this particularly painfully some 50 years ago.

Summing up these considerations, I would like to strongly stress our determination to aim toward a reduction in our Armed Forces. We are doing this as far as we are able, being mindful, however, not to go below a required minimum level, which is the last stage that still gives us a guarantee of our national security.

In these matters we should be guided by the maxim—a maxim constantly proven by history—that a country that is unable to defend itself cannot have a claim to sovereignty.

That is why we continue to maintain our Armed Forces at the level dictated by our defense requirements and economic possibilities.

PZPR's Rakowski Visits State Farm

LD0911211589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, today visited the (Chwaliszewo) State Agricultural Farm in Bydgoszcz Voićvodship:

[Begin Rakowski recording] I think that our party, I am thinking of its rural component, ought to maintain its influence, because I know—I myself come from the countryside and even from this area, as it happens—that PZPR men in individual villages or parishes all these years have been playing a very positive role. They were the ones who organized public life; they organized production. And apart from that I think they have become part and parcel of the Polish countryside, just like United Peasant Party [ZSL] men. I should add here that over all these years the peasant PZPR members and the peasant-ZSL members worked together and together solved the problems that life presented them. And that's why I think the PZPR, as it is now and as the party which is going to arise from it, ought to retain firmly its rural basis, since the peasants who belong to the PZPR and the peasants who belong to the ZSL have the same interests, that is, to steadily raise production and to create the best possible conditions for the Polish countryside in the material and cultural fields. [end recording]

PZPR Program Declaration Published

AU1411000489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Nov 89 p 4

["Programatic Declaration Theses"—published for discussion by the PZPR Central Congress Commission on 6 November in Warsaw]

[Text] Poland is at a watershed. Past methods of socialist construction have failed the test. How are we to keep up with the developed world, answer the challenges of modern civilization, and satisfy society's aspirations?

Today, we are seeking new roads of development that will lead the country out of its crisis, restructure it along the principles of democracy, freedom, and social justice. The Polish left will participate in this process, because its ideals and values are in harmony with the national and personal aspirations of Poland and the Poles.

The sources of strength of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] are weakening, as is the possibility that this party can regain the confidence of society. The time to create a new party of the left has come—a party that draws from the traditions of Polish socialist thought, and from the experiences and contemporary searching of the reforming stream of the PZPR.

We accept that the postwar reconstruction, the social advance of the masses, and the securing of peace and secure boundaries for Poland, are things that cannot be taken away from the list of achievements of the Polish

People's Republic. We reject dogma and futile practices, and we condemn the crimes of Stalinism. We reject force as the source of authority and the method of rule. We reject the dictatorship of the proletariat, the undemocratic character of the state institutions, and their instrumentalism in serving party interests. We are breaking with the principle of primitively understood collectivism, disregard for human and individual rights and freedoms, and with the doctrine of limiting national sovereignty in the name of a falsely understood internationalism. We think that making the economy subservient to ideological dogma is compledtely wrong. We categorically reject the bureaucratic and ineffectual forms of the organization and management of the economy.

We are not capitulating under the burden of the past which has besmirched the word "socialism" with the mark of Stalinism. Nor are we capitulating under the growing pressure of the political right. We remain convinced that the new party of the Polish left will be capable of restoring the value of socialism.

Toward Democratic Socialism

1. The socialism toward which we are proceeding means respect for the dignity of each person, creation of proper conditions for free development, equality of opportunity, rights, and freedoms of individual citizens, acknowledgement for creative work. We are opposed to people living at other peoples expense.

2. There can be no socialism without the support of society. The source of authority can only be the will of the people that is expressed in democratic and proportional elections. We support a strong Polish state, parliamentary democracy, and a multiparty system.

We are in favor of a state where authority will reside in the legislative, executive, and judiciary, all democratically elected, and which will be subject to the control of society. These bodies would have clearly defined powers, with the parliament being given a particular role. We are for a state that guarantees political pluralism, personal property, the rule of law, and rights of the citizen.

Democratic socialism means territorial self-government and worker self-management, the right of society to organize itself as it wishes, decentralization of privilege, and local and regional autonomy.

We are driven by the ideal of a rational society which will reach widely for the fruits of scientific advance and actively participate in a rich and multifaceted cultural life. Poland needs a rebirth of educational aspirations and a new revolution in education.

We consider tolerance to be a cardinal virtue of social life. We support a state that will protect the freedom of the word, conscience, belief, respect for national tradition, and protect the rights of all national groups. We oppose nationalism, chauvinism, and the undermining of the principle of the right to have a neutral outlook in the life of the state.

We shall protect the budding democracy against all those people that may wish for a return to bureaucratic and autocratic practices of rule and authority. We oppose all practices that have as their aim the stifling of freedom and democratic rights.

An Effective Economic System and Social Justice

3. We support a profound restructuring of the Polish economy so that consumer needs are better supplied and the cost of economic advance does not fall on a deteriorating natural environment. We support an acceleration of scientific advance, and the limiting of monopolist practices so that Poland can participate to a greater extent in the international division of labor. We support a market economy that would be adjusted by an active interventionist and social policy of the government.

4. The condition for a restructuring of an economic system is the reform of property ownership. We support the equality of all economic sectors. Competition and the interaction of the various forms of property ownership should be the motor of economic progress. We support the development of the nationalized sector that would be economically efficient and free from the limitations of bureaucracy and centralism. The profound transformations occurring in state ownership are seen as essential. These transformations must happen according to the law and must be socially controlled. The aspirations of the workers for joint ownership and management of their factories have to be taken into account. Various ways of achieving this are possible, namely, through workers, cooperative, self-managed, or even mixed ownership. We consider state treasury ownership and local community ownership equally important. Conceding the need for developing the private sector where it can better satisfy the needs of society's demands, we are opposed to the wholesale imposition of privatization as the sole or the main direction in the changes to the system of ownership. Private enterprise should, above all, be encouraged to develop in the direction of new factories that are badly needed by our economy.

5. People have to be valued and rewarded according to the actual results of their work. We support the introduction and implementation of mechanisms and principles that will create the conditions facilitating productive work by individuals and enterprises. We consider as essential the elimination of useless institutions and inefficient enterprises and factories.

6. Structural transformations should be accompanied by actions aiming at protecting the achievements of socialism, namely, an equal start in life for everyone, social security, and the equitable division of the costs in overcoming the crisis. The new economic mechanisms cannot be introduced solely at the cost of those who are employed in nationalized industries, and they should not tend to the creation of a class of politically privileged and

economically well-off elites in a sea of deteriorating conditions and even poverty.

7. The solution of the problem of food supplies and creating dignified conditions of work and life for the farmers requires the modernization of our agriculture and the development of the social infrastructure of the countryside. We support the elimination of the inequality between the conditions of life and work in the cities and those found in our countryside and we are in favor of the development of the countryside.

Our Place in Europe and the World.

8. The interest of our nation, the independence and political and economical sovereignty of Poland are the highest priorities for us. We reject the use of domination and force in relations between states. We support disarmament, the increase in confidence, and the unchangibility of the postwar territorial divisions in Europe. Our aim is the solidarity and friendship of nations which alone will meet the global challenges of our times. The position of Poland in the heart of Europe, our participation and growing position in the Warsaw Pact, should be utilized to realize the idea of a common European home.

Respecting the alliances made by our state, we shall aim at lasting peace, and at the same time, the dissolution of military blocs. Poland needs a new form of relationship in the framework of a modernized and effective CEMA, just as it needs a fundamental rapprochement to and cooperation with the European communities.

We consider the Polish alliance with the Soviet Union, based on equal rights and mutually advantageous relations between states and economies, as constituting an important factor of the security and development of our country.

9. We are an integral component of the European and worldwide political left. We support further development of cooperation with all of its groupings which aim for democracy and the just resolution of global, national and social problems.

A New Party

10. The party represents the interests of all working people who live by the work of their labor. It attracts all of those people who identify with its program, without regard to their individual social position or opinions. Turning to the future, we intend to base ourselves on those social forces, branches of industry, and science which have the best possibilities and perspectives to positively transform Poland.

11. We shall cooperate with trade unions and self-management movements and with the new groupings of the left which today still remain separated from us by the barrier of suspicion and mistrust. All ecological and peace movements are dear to our heart.

12. We are a democratic party. Every member has a right to unfettered thinking and the public presentation of his, or her, views. The basic party organizations will play a particular role in the shaping and the realization of our party's policies. The competition of personalities and views held will determine the leaders of all levels of the party organization. The party's representatives in parliament and in the territorial self-government bodies will play an increased role. Representing the party in the representational organs of the state, they must have a guaranteed and equal input in determining its aims and tasks.

13. We reject democratic centralism, which proved to be a barrier to the openness of searching and any initiatives from below, as well as control in the life of the party. In order to attain aims in an open and democratic way, an organizational effectiveness and the ability to have unified action are necessary. Differences in views and aims can manifest themselves in the form of separate platforms and programmatic streams.

14. In closing the history of the Polish United Workers Party, there is a need for a penetrating and objective analysis of its difficult and complicated experiences, its achievements and successes, as well as its faults and setbacks.

The Order of the Day

The working people are feeling the effects of the fall in the standard of living. More and more families are finding they have insufficient money for food, or housing, or even the most basic of necessities. The majority of Poles look to the future with great anxiety. We do not accept:

—Lasting and structural unemployment;

—Making the quality of the health service depend on the financial situation of the individual;

—A fragmentation of the opportunities for a decent start in life for the young generation and the wholesale spread of private education;

—The socially uncontrolled selling off of state property in order to sell property to the old or the new nomenklatura;

—The creation of new fortunes based on speculation.

Poland needs a continuation of the reforms, a release of human energy, and the spirit of enterprise. A lot needs to be changed in our life. However, this cannot be taken to mean poverty for the majority of Poles and wealth for a select few.

We all stand to lose if the reforms fail, and conversely we all stand to gain if they are successful.

We must not miss this opportunity.

The Central Congress Commission, Warsaw, 6 November 1989.

Miller Attends Lodz Meeting on Left Party

LD0911210789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Excerpt] A meeting devoted to forming the new Polish left party has taken place at the Elta works in Lodz, with Leszek Miller, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, taking part. [passage omitted]

PZPR Leader Meets Bydgoszcz Party Activists

LD1011022289 Warsaw PAP in English 0034 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Bydgoszcz, Nov. 9—Speaking at a meeting with the active of the Polish United Workers' Party [PUWP] here on Thursday [9 November] PUWP CC First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski said:

"The new party of the left cannot be built on the ruins of the PUWP. While creating this new party, we must draw from good traditions of the PPR (Polish Workers' Party), the PPS (Polish Socialist Party) and the PUWP. The working class must remain the core of the new party".

Rakowski Meets With Merited Party Members

LD1311195589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] central committee, has met with merited party members, whom he informed about activities of the PZPR leadership. Presenting the state of the party, Mieczyslaw Rakowski said that it still continues to feel the effects of the electoral defeat and changes on the political map. He stressed that currently the most important task is to prevent a division in the PZPR, something which has been achieved at least in the period preceding the party congress.

Statement by PZPR Central Committee Spokesman

AU1511180289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Nov 89 p 2

[Text] Jan Bisztyga, spokesman of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], issued the following statement on Polish Television on 10 November:

The Politburo has placed all party members, especially those holding responsible administrative posts, under an obligation to increase efforts to help anyone who needs help during the coming winter.

From what I said, one should also understand that our members should encourage the efficient functioning of all state and self-management institutions that serve the daily needs of citizens.

I am convinced that despite the differences that divide society, the burden on daily life in the coming months will be reduced by social solidarity, administrative efficiency, and cooperation between all forces.

I think that the responsibility and social traditions that have existed among our cadres for years will make society perceive the party's service for it.

PZPR Veterans Warn Against Party Divisions

LD1411110389 Warsaw PAP in English 0146 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 13: At his meeting with outstanding and merited Polish United Workers Party [PUWP] members, Central Committee 1st secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski appraised the present condition of the party which, as he put it, which was largely a reflection of the effects of changes in the nation's political life.

The party as a whole is still saddled by its election defeat and changes on the political map. This is perhaps the main reason of low activity, Rakowski said and stressed that the first task today is to prevent splinters, which has been achieved, at least before the congress.

A meeting of party leadership with former establishment members was attended by 20 party and government leaders of the 1960s and 1970s. They pointed to risks facing the PUWP but first of all to the possibility of division. They recalled that clearing the bill with the past cannot entail divorce from the Polish worker movement tradition. Many discussants suggested that presence in the government coalition does not mean acceptance of all moves of that government.

The PUWP veterans criticized the programmatic declaration adopted by the recent 16th PUWP Central Committee plenary meeting. It is full of flaws and understatements which make it unattractive to party members.

At the meeting present were: Jerzy Albrecht, Mieczyslaw Jagielski, Stefan Jedrychowski, Jozef Kepa, Jozef Ozga-Michalski, Norbert Michta, Jan Mitrega, Lucjan Motyka, Jozef Olszewski, Jozef Pinkowski, Jan Ptasinski, Wlodzimierz Reczek, Ignacy Loga-Sowinski, Franciszek Szlachcic, Jozef Tejchma, Stanislaw Trepczynski, Andrzej Werblan, Kazimierz Witaszewski, Janusz Zarzycki, and Stefan Zolkiewski.

PZPR CC Politburo Meets 14 Nov

LD1411203889 Warsaw PAP in English 1934 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 14—The PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] CC Political Bureau met today with the participation of mining experts—PUWP members to get acquainted with reports on coal extraction, moods among miners and response to the appeal by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki for miners' work on Saturdays. The bureau made a statement on these issues and decided to publish it in the press.

The body evaluated the situation and the party's real influence on youth movement.

It familiarized itself with a stand by the PUWP CC Commission for Youth, Associations and Organizations on government-announced new principles of financing social organizations, associations, unions and minority organizations.

The bureau analyzed the possibilities of the presentation of party views and activities in mass media, particularly on TV and radio, in recent weeks.

Jaruzelski's Farewell Letter to PRON Published

AU1411165189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Nov 89 p 2

[Letter issued by President Wojciech Jaruzelski to the PRON National Council in Warsaw on 8 November]

[Text] Esteemed Citizens and Members of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]!

Seven years ago, you combined your efforts to satisfy the enormous social need for national accord and rebirth and for a democratic repair of the Republic.

The services which the movement has rendered establishing social calm, bringing together people with different views and different kinds of world outlook, and undertaking initiatives and activities that serve Poland well, cannot be overestimated. Your efforts concerning major national problems and daily organizational work resulted in a respectable political, civic, moral, and material achievement, satisfying the vital needs of society.

I convey to you my respect and thanks for your work. You have every reason to be pleased with your achievements, and to feel that you have well fulfilled your duty to your fatherland. I am convinced that that is the way history will assess PRON and all those who boldly joined it in a difficult period, for it is your activity which provided valuable social experience, showed the spheres where accord was necessary, and created a climate that permitted the "roundtable" to occur.

The profound changes to political and social life compel you to end your work in its present organizational shape. However, I am convinced that that does not mean you should "stand at ease." Poland still needs your work and the energy of each of you. No doubt you will find the right framework and methods for this work. You must seek them, remembering that they should take shape in an authentic manner, without being dictated from above, in accordance with present needs and possibilities.

The entire life of our national community enables every PRON member to make use of his experience, knowledge, and zeal in further work for the good of the country and its citizens.

Your support is essential during the process of social and economic reforms. Smaller communities—cities and villages, voivodships and rural districts—are now waiting for your ceaseless initiative and energy.

Your attitude as people of deed and accord is a creative value worthy of the broadest publicity.

I wish you all the best in further service to the fatherland.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic, Warsaw, 8 November 1989.

Jaruzelski Receives Journalists' Representatives

LD1411003889 Warsaw PAP in English 2118 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 13—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today representatives of authorities of the SDPRL, Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic, and SDP Association of Polish Journalists.

The guests acquainted the president with political, social and professional problems of the entire journalists' milieu and presented the possibilities of cooperation between both organizations in solving concrete issues of that professional group.

Wojciech Jaruzelski expressed satisfaction over the already existing contacts between the two organizations as well as over their intentions to tackle the problems important for the journalists and for society.

New Krakow Town Authorities Sought by Committee

LD0911183589 Warsaw PAP in English 1701 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Krakow, Nov. 9—The following is a communique of the Solidarnosc "Malopolska" Regional Committee that conveyed its stand to the Krakow PAP division today:

The Solidarnosc "Malopolska" Regional Committee voices its concern over the absence of action by the town authorities that should strive to introduce sweeping political and economic changes in Krakow reflecting changes taking place in Poland. We cannot passively tolerate the incompetence of Krakow town authorities.

In this connection, the Solidarnosc "Malopolska" Regional Committee fully supports an initiative by Krakow Sejm deputies and senators from the citizens's deputy committee to urgently change town authorities. We firmly demand the speeding up of elections to local self-gopvernments so that they could be held in the spring of 1990. We call on all union members to actively support actions by citizen's committees to this effect.

PAP recalls that members of the citizen's and the Democratic Party's parliamentary floor groups, representing the electorate of the Krakow Voivodship, met here November 4 to critically size up the socio-political situation in Krakow and its voivodship.

Workers Seek To Remove Parties From Enterprises

LD1511095589 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1505 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Factory committees of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity supported by workers of many factories put forward a proposal for removing political organizations from work enterprises. The proposal was adopted by a majority of votes at yesterday's meeting of the workers' council in Lubin mining and metallurgy industrial complex. Only the Union of Socialist Polish Youth is to remain. Today's meeting of delegates from the complex, which is a higher self-management body endorsed the decision.

2d PSL Congress Held After Break of 42 Years

Opens in Warsaw 11 Nov

LD1111100689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] After a break of 42 years, the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] has renewed its activity. Its second congress opens in Warsaw today. The honorary chairman of the interim Supreme PSL Executive Committee is General Franciszek Kaminski, former commander of the peasant battalions [during World War II].

Ends, Kaminski Elected Chairman

LD1211002589 Warsaw PAP in English 2114 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 11—The Polish Peasant Party PSL held its 2nd Congress here today. The party which is now being reborn was represented at the Congress by over 1,230 delegates who came from 43 (out of Poland's 49) provinces, among them several surviving accomplices of the old-time leader of the PSL Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, and members of the former chief PSL authorities elected at the 1st congress in 1946.

While opening the debate, former commander of the Peasant Batallions General Franciszek Kaminski recalled that the PSL organised after the (2nd World) War was a major political force commanding over 1.2 million members. Our party, he said, was not disbanded under Stalinist harassment but its activities were only suspended. We lost a battle not war.

Peasants did not spare efforts in their struggle for the sovereign existence of Poland, they defended their farms and opposed collectivisation. In the first half of this year, when conditions for this occurred, we resumed the activities of the PSL Peasant Party.

General Kaminski stressed that the party's chief task now was to achieve the unity of the peasant movement. We want together with the whole nation to work for the good of our fatherland, to overcome the crisis in which our country has found itself.

The PSL progammatic guidelines were presented by Hanna Chorzayna. The reborn party, she said, wil be faithful to the idea of agrarism, not only as a socio-economic programme but also a way of viewing the rural people's world. Agrarism was not an ideology imposed on the peasants but it stemmed from the deeply-rooted peasants' convictions, therefore, in the most difficult days of Stalinist terror the peasants managed to counter the alien communist ideology. The PSL programmatic guidelines are convergent to the social doctrine of the church.

Referring to the international situation Chorazyna said that the PSL, PSL "Solidarnosc", and the civil committee for the rebirth of the peaasant movement showed that it is possible to hold a joint congress of all these movements in the 1st quarter of 1990. That would be a large step towards the unity of the peasant movement, Chorazyna said.

The congress elected new authorities. General Franciszek Kaminski, who got 478 votes, became PSL chairman. His challenger Roman Bartoszcze had 448 votes. Hanna Chorazyna was elected chairwoman of the PSL chief council and the appointed Council elected the PSL Executive Committee.

When the congress was over, Franciszek Kaminski told PAP: "We expect the UPP (United Peasant Party) to dissolve itself at the next congress and its members will move to the PSL. If things go otherwise, the process in which UPP circles move to our reborn party will continue.

National Party To Hold Congress 18 Nov

LD1411223689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] The General Congress [Walny Zjazd] of delegates of the National Party will be held on 18 November this year. The party openly resumed its activities on 9 July this year.

Majority Approve Cabinet's Peformance To Date

LD1311192289 Warsaw PAP in English 1844 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 13—Asked to assess the first months of the activity of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, 11 per cent of the polled told the Public Opinion Sounding Center OBOB that it worked well while 62 percent voiced the opinion that the cabinet's performance was rather good.

Seven per cent of respondents said that the hitherto activity of the government was rather bad and 2 per cent said it was very bad. Eighteen per cent had no opinion whatsoever.

Deputies Suggest Foreign Debt Repayment Reduction

LD1411224389 Warsaw PAP in English 1824 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 14—A Sejm deputies' team for Poland's foreign debt today looked at a report on the situation in the balance of payments and on directions of solving the debt problem.

According to a report presented by a team attached to the Solidarity Socio-Occupational Centre, the foreign trade balance surplus after the first 10 months of 1989 totalled 570 million dollars but was much lower than a year ago.

There has been a three-fold drop in the balance of hard-currency transactions, and the balance of the population's hard-currency transfers also declined (617 million dollars).

Over the first nine months of 1989 about one billion dollars went for the repayment of interest and principal installments of Poland's foreign debt.

This shows that the whole volume of the surplus was not enough to service the debt, hence the need to use the hard-currency reserves of the state. Further practice of its kind is inadmissible, the team opined.

If we fail to abide by the time-table of debt servicing in the coming months (1.5 billion dollars this year), it will have to be reduced, they said. The deputies also demanded changes in the time-table of the repayment of the debt to the Soviet Union.

Replying to a question by Deputy Ryszard Bugaj, director of the Finance Ministry's Foreign Department Jan Boniuk said that in early December Poland and the International Monetary Fund would probably sign the so-called intentional letter highlighting the guidelines of a future agreement with the Fund.

Council of Ministers Discusses New Laws

LD1311235889 Warsaw PAP in English 2113 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 13—The Council of Ministers which met here today under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki adopted a draft law on administrative proceedings and on tax liabilities.

Delayed payment of taxes by socialised economy units has become one of the causes of the present budget deficit. It is particularly harmful to the state budget during high inflation because the unpaid sums get devalued quickly and turn into a form of cheap credit.

Changes in the existing regulations will help bring more discipline among the socialised economy units which are the tax payers.

The draft law on execution proceedings provides for:

—Unification of taxation principles and other payments for all economic units

—Rising (because of the scale of inflation) maximum fines that can be taken from negligent tax payers

—Improvement and simplification of the tax collection procedure.

The government also adopted draft laws on the Office of Minister for Environment Protection and Forestry, and of Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 3-7 Nov

AU1311085589

[Editorial report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 4 to 8 November reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page of each report given in parentheses):

Wojciech Jaruzelski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, and Krzysztof Skubiszewski attended a concert on the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution on 6 November. (7 Nov 89 pp 1, 2)

Wojciech Jaruzelski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Marian Orzechowski, and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski attended a reception at the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw on 7 November to mark the anniversary of the October Revolution. (8 Nov 89 p 2)

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received Dominik Ludwiczak, chairman of the United Peasant Party, on 3 November. (4-5 Nov 89 p 2)

President Wojciech Jaruzelski received on 3 November the following new ambassadors, who presented their credentials: Richard Gaechter of Switzerland, Manuel Jaime Guerrero Paz of Colombia, and Niels Peter Georg Helskov of Denmark. (4-5 Nov 89 p 2) He received on 7 November the following ambassadors, who presented their credentials: Mario Enrigue Burkuna of Argentina; Mustapha Boutaieb of Algeria, Peter Julian Arthur Hancock of Canada, and Guenther Knackstedt of the FRG. (8 Nov 89 p 2) He received a delegation from the "Vistula-Odra" Society of friendship with the FRG on 7 November. (8 Nov 89 p 2)

Zdislaw Balicki, Politburo candidate member, chaired a meeting of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Information Policy Commission on 3 November. (4-5 Nov 89 p 2)

Leszek Miller, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a meeting with the commanders of the "Jaroslaw Dabrowski" Military Technical Academy on 3 November, on the future of the party in the armed forces. (4-5 Nov 89 pp 1, 2) He attended a meeting with young party candidate members in Warsaw on 3 November. (4-5 Nov 89 pp 1, 2)

Marek Stepien, Central Committee secretary, attended a meeting of Polish publishers on 7 November. (8 Nov 89 p 2)

Slawomir Wiatr, Central Committee secretary, attended the inaugural meeting of the PZPR Club for Progressive Thinking on 4 November. (6 Nov 89 p 2)

Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski received new FRG Ambassador Guenter Knackstedt on 4 November. (6 Nov 89 p 2)

Ceausescu Sends 'Warm Greetings' to Mladenov

AU1611093489 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 12 Nov 89 p 5

[Congratulatory message from Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, to Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, on his election to office—date and place not given]

[Text] To Comrade Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee:

On the occasion of your election to office as general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee and on my own behalf, I convey to you warm greetings and best wishes for success in the socioeconomic development and in the construction of socialism in your country.

I take this opportunity to express my satisfaction that the traditional relations of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between the RCP and the BCP and between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to develop in many areas for the benefit of and in the interest of our peoples.

I am convinced that the relations between our parties and countries, based on complete equality of rights and respect for the independence and national sovereignty, will continue to develop for the benefit of the Romanian and the Bulgarian people and in the interest of strengthening the forces of socialism, cooperation, and peace in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world.

I convey to you, to the Communist Party, and to the whole Bulgarian people wishes for new and increasingly greater successes in the implementation of the programs for progress and development on the path of socialism in your homeland and for the prosperity of the friendly Bulgarian people.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

Repression of Demonstrations in Kishinev Viewed

AU1611095689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Nov 89 p 6

[AGERPRES report: "Repression of Demonstrations in Kishinev"]

[Text] Moscow 13 November (AGERPRES)—TASS reports that on 10 November groups of people gathered around the monument to Stefan the Great [Romanian ruler] to protest the arrest of some people during the 7 November parade.

Shortly after, TASS specifies, approximately 1,500 people had gathered in front of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the republic, creating an emotional atmosphere. The militia forces were asked for help and they used clubs to disperse the demonstrators. During the demonstration the scaffolding around Mihai Eminescu Theater, which is being restored, was taken down and the materials were used to erect barricades. Other instances of public disorder were also noted, including attempts to set fire to the Ministry of Internal Affairs building. Under these circumstances, officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs fired warning shots.

As a result of the clashes—TASS reports—numerous militiamen and demonstrators had to be hospitalized. Thirty people were detained by the bodies in charge of public order but were later released at the request of the demonstrators.

Another group of demonstrators gathered in Kishinev's Victoriei Square demanding the resignation of the government of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and of the Communist Party Central Committee Bureau of the Moldavian SSR.

The decision of the Communist Party Central Committee Bureau of the Moldavian SSR "on public disorder in Kishinev during the parade on the 72d anniversary of the Great October," published Saturday [11 November] by TASS, states that in Kishinev the military parade and demonstration was overshadowed by the actions of some supporters of the People's Front of the Moldavian SSR. They blocked the military equipment column and hampered the organized march of the columns of paraders. Later an unauthorized march took place in the streets of the city.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Council of Ministers of the Moldavian SSR decided to immediately apply exceptional measures in the city of Kishinev. Thus, demonstrations, meetings, mass gatherings, and public marches by citizens, as well as the entry into the city of transportation vehicles without being involved in ensuring the national economic activity, the presence of minors in public places after 2000 hours, and the use of radio broadcasting facilities and loudspeakers have been prohibited.

The Communist Party Central Committee of the Moldavian SSR, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Ministers of the Moldavian SSR have called on the people to preserve calm, emphasizing that the events in the past few days have literally shaken the Moldavian SSR, giving rise to concern.

The leadership of the Moldavian SSR has called for uncompromised struggle "to ensure peace and calm," TASS reports.

An extraordinary state commission has been set up headed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic to examine the sociopolitical situation created in the Moldavian SSR.

Ceausescu Greets Lebanese President on Election

AU1511091989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Nov 89 p 6

[Message from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to Lebanese President Rene Mu'awwad on his election to office—date and place not given]

[Text] To Mr Rene Mu'awwad, president of the Republic of Lebanon:

On the occasion of your election to the office of president of the Republic of Lebanon, I take particular pleasure in conveying to you warm congratulations and best wishes for good health and complete success in the position of great responsibility entrusted to you.

I express my hope that, by developing broad cooperation among all parties, organizations, and political forces of Lebanese society and through their concerted efforts the national reconciliation, peace, independence, sovereignty, unity, and integrity of Lebanon will be ensured.

I am confident that the relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Lebanon will continue to develop for the benefit of the Romanian and Lebanese people and in the interest of the cause of peace and understanding throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Ceausescu Receives New Iraqi Ambassador

AU0411192789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1924 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 3/11/1989—On November 3, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received Ibrahim Shuja' Sultan, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Iraq to Romania.

Handing over his letters of credence, Ambassador Ibrahim Shuja' Sjujaa conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu a cordial salute and good wishes on behalf of the President of the Republic of Iraq, Saddam Husayn.

In his address, the ambassador highlighted the friendly links between the two countries and underscored the important role of the understandings reached and of the talks conducted at top level in the building of lasting foundations for and the intensification Romanian-Iraqi relations.

Receiving the credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed the president of the Republic of Iraq a cordial salute.

In his address, the Romanian head of state expressed satisfaction at the friendly and cooperative ties between Romania and Iraq, which are set on the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, full equality of rights, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, and which have developed and diversified continuously, in the spirit of the understandings reached. At the same time, growing possibilities were shown to be in place for the further expansion of those relations, in all areas of mutual interest, for the benefit of the Romanian and Iraqi peoples.

President Nicolae Ceausescu wished the newly appointed ambassador full success in fulfilling his mission and assured him of the full support of the State Council and of the government, as well as of his own support.

SCINTEIA Rejects Return to Capitalism

AU0811203589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1804 GMT 8 Nov 89

["Socialism, the Peoples' Liberty and Independence Are Not Negotiable"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 8/11/1989—The world situation continues to be complicated and grave, international developments as a whole being influenced by the basic contradiction between socialism and capitalism; the contradiction between developed capitalist countries and developing countries is growing; the arms race, including the nuclear arms race, continues, hence the persistence of the world war threat; the world economic crisis persists and is growing, with its aggravating factor the developing countries' foreign debt crisis; the political and social crisis of the capitalist world becomes acute, adding to which are the economic and political crisis phenomena in certain socialist countries, "SCINTEIA" writes in a commentary on 8 November. Against this background, an all-out offensive was launched by reactionary circles in order to destabilize certain socialist countries, undermine socialism, weaken its position world-wide. Probably concluding that the time is right, these circles want to take advantage of certain defeatist positions and liquidatorist tendencies in certain socialist countries, and taking their wishes for facts, try to tip the balance of forces to their side, to turn back the wheel of history.

In their destabilizing actions, the newspaper goes on, the imperialist circles resort to public opinion disinformation, to every means of the rusty, outdated "cold war" arsenal ranging from pressure, blackmail and diversion to direct financial subsidies for anti-socialist, anti-national groups and forces. In this way, foremost, fundamental values, historic achievements of whole peoples are called into question. By taking advantage of the state of crisis and political confusion in certain countries, they give solutions to get out of the maze of difficulties they have to cope with, by offering them with fake generosity economic and financial aid. The price? To renounce socialism.

It should be said that this ideological offensive on socialism is rendered easier by the defensive, capitulatory policy of certain countries that ignore the fact that the "alternative" suggested by reactionary circles which they do not try to conceal is the return to capitalism. What else is pursued by the promotion of measures that harm the most basic principles of socialism like the

renunciation, including through amendments to constitutional acts, of the leading role of the party? The direct outcome of this renunciation is the assertion of the "multi-party system and the formation on this basis of heterogeneous governments in which the party that represents the interests of the working class, of all working people is given a secondary role. What does renunciation of revolutionary worker democracy mean? What kind of democracy is being offered to the socialist countries as a model? Obviously, "democracy" capitalist style, which favours a small minority whose privileges are achieved through the exploitation and oppression of the many. A democracy in which the levers of power are the absolute monopoly of the rich. A democracy which favours and stimulates the revival of fascist antihumanist tendencies, of extremist forces of the kind that contributed directly to the outbreak of the last world conflagration, "SCINTEIA" writes. It is a fact that, in their antisocialist offensive, reactionary circles count also on the state of confusion prevailing in certain socialist counties due to economic problems they are faced with. The fact that, in their attempt to divert these countries from the socialist development path, the imperialist forces attracted not only the big monopolies but also international financial bodies can hardly escape attention. An "urgent" aid campaign is widely publicized, negotiations are initiated for debt rescheduling, accounts are being opened, as well as public subscription lists... On one condition: the money is to stimulate private entrepreneurship. In other words, the "aid" is given to revert to capitalist ownership, hence to renounce the large socialist property, to introduce the market-type economy with all its social consequences.

In that way, the proposed model would replace a society founded on equality and social justice. A society in which the exploitation of man by man was liquidated once and once and for all, in which every citizen enjoys the right to work, to housing, to schooling, to social security, in a word to life in dignity, in which the conditions are created for the full assertion of human personality.

Another target of the imperialist circles' destabilizing actions, the commentary shows, are the countries that have embarked upon the road of self-dependent development. The end pursued is to halt the processes of consolidation of the national independence, the respective countries' renunciation of their options for progressive changes or, in some cases, even for socialism, their bringing back to the orbit of colonial-type oppression. Telling in this respect are the practices of blackmail, the pressures of all kind put up against developing countries that still grunt under the overwhelming foreign debt, the conditions imposed for an "assistance" that is often immaterial in consideration of the incomes derived from the spoiling of their riches. Such practices are obviously in utter contradiction with the principles included in the UN Charter, with the norms of peaceful coexistence, running counter to the requirements of collaboration and peace.

Sure, the settlement of the multiple issues amassed in the world today requires a realistic policy, negotiations conducted in a spirit of understanding and collaboration, mutual concessions, acceptable to both sides. This must however not lead to concessions of principles that should run counter to the peoples' fundamental interests. It is inadmissible that supreme gains of the peoples, like the gains of socialism, national independence, won at the cost of long struggle, of tremendous sacrifices, should become an object for barter. The experience of tens upon tens of peoples, the experience of the Romanian people that has never yielded to any aggression, demonstrates that indeed, such supreme assets as socialism, freedom, independence, are not and cannot be negotiable in any circumstance and for any reason.

The thesis of "disideologization" of the international relations circulated of late, pursues to accredit the idea that, in consideration of a nuclear confrontation, that would mean the destruction of the whole of mankind, the ideological struggle, the class struggle between the two differing socio-political systems should be renounced. (It is not fortuitous that such a thesis is unreservedly espoused by the imperialist quarters that, as far as they are concerned, have not given up and do not seem to intend to their ideology. On the contrary, facts show an unprecedented intensification of the antisocialist and anticommunist ideological offensive). Capitulation to imperialism in the name of peace? Renunciation of socialism, of freedom and national independence in order to ensure mankind's survival? Such a prospect is most categorically rejected by peoples themselves. As stressed in the exposition, the elimination of the nuclear war danger, mankind's survival cannot be ensured through renunciation of the supreme attributes of the national being, of the gains so dearly paid for by the sacrifices of many generations, they can be ensured by the intensification of the peoples' struggle against the imperialist policy, for disarmament, for a world free of wars and weapons. And our party is convinced that by their concerted action, the peoples can impose peace. A dignified peace that should guarantee the peoples' coexistence based on the observance of their national independence and sovereignty, of full equality, of the imprescriptible right to freely choose their development path, with no outside interference.

County Conferences Prepare for Congress

AU0811203289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 8 Nov 89

[County RCP Organizations' Report and Election Conferences"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Twenty county seats venued on 8 November report and election conferences of county RCP [Romanian Communist Party] organizations. [Sentence as received]

An important moment in preparation of the Fourteenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the conferences took place in the spirit of the ideas, theses and orientations contained in the exposition the RCP general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu made at the enlarged plenary meeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP. The participants in the conferences debated the draft programme-directive and the theses for the Fourteenth Congress, analysed the activity carried out by the party bodies and organizations, the way in which the programmes of economic and social development of the countries and territorial units were implemented and set measures to raise the entire activity onto an ever higher quality and efficiency level.

The proceedings were attended by members of the county party committees and of auditing commissions, delegates elected by the conference of commune, town and city RCP organizations.

Present were also full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party's central committee, members of the CC of the RCP, executives of central institutions, mass and public organizations.

The conference of the Arges County Party organization was attended by Elena Ceausescu. Present were Ioan Toma at Alba; Miu Dobrescu at Arad; Stefan Andrei at Bihor; Ion Stoian at Botosani; Constantin Dascalescu at Brasov; Vasile Barbulescu at Calarasi; Nicolae Constantin at Cluj; Gheorghe Radulescu at Dimbovita; Constantin Olteanu at Dolj; Ion Radu at Galati; Iosif Szasz at Gorj; Ion Coman at Hunedoara; Ion Dinca at Iasi; Emil Bobu at Olt; Ilie Matei at Prahova; Paul Niculescu at Satu Mare; Cornel Pacoste at Teleorman; Gheorghe Pana at Vaslui; Ion Ursu at Vilcea.

On behalf of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu the participants in conferences, the Communists and all the working people were conveyed a revolutionary salute and the warmest congratulations for the achievements scored in industry, agriculture, in all the other areas, as well as the wish of further success in attaining all the targets of the country's economic and social growth.

Paying a warm homage to the RCP and Romanian state leader, the delegates to the conferences adopted their own resolutions whereby the delegates to the congress received the mandate to vote Nicolae Ceausescu's re-election to the highest office of RCP general secretary.

The county party conferences were unanimous in highly appreciating Nicolae Ceausescu's exposition at the enlarged plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP and fully agreed with the draft programme-directive and the theses for the Fourteenth Party Congress, documents that are thus approved by the entire nation. Concomintantly with making a balance-sheet of the achievements scored throughout the country, more particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress of 1965, the participants in the debates highlighted the results of the policy of judicious, balanced distribution of production forces all over the country, the rise in the industrial and farm production, in the national income, and with this as a basis, in the standard of living and civilization of the Romanian People.

It was stressed that the successes the Romanian people scored over this period, unparalleled in Romania's history, prove the correctness of the RCP policy, are illustrative of its leading role in all spheres, in organizing and rallying the efforts of the entire people in the work of building socialism, of the might of the new system, of the superiority of the great socialist property, the foundation of the country's uninterrupted progress, of the people's welfare.

During the conferences an exigent analysis was made of the achievements scored in all areas in each county, numerous proposals were made and programmes of tangible measures were adopted to remove shortcomings and improve the activity in all domains.

An important place was held by the examination of the programmes for the economic and social development of the communes, towns and counties as an integrant part of the country's general development plan as well as of the measures to fulfill them so that each settlement becomes an ever stronger economic and social centre, ensures ever better working and living conditions to its inhabitants. Stress was laid on each county's concern to fulfill local self-management programmes, the programmes for a proper supply of the population in keeping with the general targets of the RCP and Romanian state policy of continuingly raising the standard of living of all people, of improving the quality of their life.

During the debates the determination was expressed to intensify the organizational, political-ideological and cultural-educative work, improve the style and methods of work of the party bodies and organizations to the end of enhancing their role in managing the entire political, economic, social and educative activity, their might in organizing and rallying all working people's efforts towards implementing the development programmes of territorial units and for the entire country.

The delegates expressed their full adhesion to socialist Romania's foreign policy of peace and cooperation, to the initiatives and steps taken internationally by President Nicolae Ceausescu in favour of detente, disarmament, security, understanding and cooperation, of the attainment of all nations' ideals of freedom, independence and progress.

The participants backed the principled stand of the RCP and the Romanian state, as expressed in Nicolae Ceausescu's 24 October exposition, of firm rejection of the actions and attempts of the imperialist reactionary circles to denigrate and undermine socialism, interfere in the domestic affairs of the socialist countries and destabilize them, stressing the resolve of the entire Romanian

people to do its utmost to safeguard the ideological, political and moral assets of socialism, to build communism on Romania's soil.

According to the RCP statute and in conformity with the criteria set by the June plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP, the conferences elected the new leading bodies of the county party organizations, the delegates to the congress and nominated the candidates for the central party bodies. Those proposals were previously submitted for debate to the general meetings of party organization to which other working people of the units where they carry on their activity were invited.

The participants in the conferences sent telegrams to the RCP general secretary, president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, whereby they reiterated their determination to unflinchingly implement the RCP and Romanian state policy.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 3-10 Nov

[AGERPRES, etc.]
AU1311084289

[Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 3-10 November period (source of each report given in parentheses):

Manea Manescu, member of the Political Executive Committee (PEC); Stefan Andrei, PEC candidate member; and Cornel Pinzaru, minister secretary of state, attended a festive meeting on the Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary, in Bucharest on 6 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1835 GMT 6 Nov 89)

PEC member Manea Manescu, PEC member Lina Ciobanu, and Vasile Barbulescu, secretary of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) Central Committee (CC), attended a Soviet Embassy reception on GOSR anniversary in Bucharest on 7 Nov. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1907 GMT 7 Nov 89)

On 8 November county party conferences were held in 20 counties; the following top party officials were present at these conferences: PEC member Elena Ceausescu in Arges County, RCP CC member Ioan Toma in Alba County, PEC member Miu Dobrescu in Arad County, PEC candidate member Stefan Andrei in Bihor County, PEC Candidate member Ion Stoian in Botosani County, PEC member Constantin Dascalescu in Brasov County, RCP CC member Vasile Barbulescu in Calarasi County, PEC member Nicolae Constantin in Cluj County, PEC member Gheorghe Radulescu in Dimbovita County, PEC member Constantin Olteanu in Dolj County, PEC candidate member Ion Radu in Galati County, PEC candidate member Iosif Szasz in Gorj County, PEC member Ion Coman in Hunedoara, PEC member Ion Dinca in Iasi County, PEC member Emil Bobu in Olt County, PEC candidate member Ilie Matei in Prahova County, PEC member Paul Niculescu in Satu-Mare County, PEC candidate member Cornel Pacoste in Teleorman County, PEC member Gheorghe Pana in Vaslui County, and PEC candidate member Ioan Ursu in Vilcea County. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 8 Nov 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received Ibrahim Shuja', new Iraqi ambassador to Romania, in Bucharest on 3 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1924 GMT 3 Nov 89) On 8 November he visited Bucharest economic units. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1912 GMT 8 Nov 89) Nicolae Ceausescu addressed a Conference of the Bucharest City RCP Organization on 9 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 9 Nov 89) He met with the chief editor of the French publication LA REVUE PARLAMENTAIRE and granted him an interview in Bucharest on 10 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 10 Nov 89).

Minister of National Defense Vasile Milea attended the swearing in of cadets at military schools and units of the Defense Ministry, in Bucharest on 6 November. (Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Nov 89 page 5)

Kosovo Provincial Committee Prepares for Congress

AU0811165289 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 4 Nov 89 p 1, 4-7

[I. Hasani, T. Neziri, B. Reka, I. Bylykbashi report: "Time for Maximum Responsibility and Vigilance"]

[Excerpts] The Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee devoted its meeting yesterday, its 29th in succession, to the current political and security situation in the province and to final preparations for the 15th Kosovo LC Conference. After being informed of the current political and security situation in the province, the members of the highest Kosovo party body heard an introductory speech on this topic by Dobrosav Radovic, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, and conducted a wide-ranging debate including 15 speakers, enabling the meeting to draw conclusions to be immediately sent to the party base as a basis for actions aimed at preventing the destabilization of the political and security situation. [passage omitted]

The Hostile Activity of Albanian Nationalists and Separatists Intensified in October

Dobrosav Radovic began by saying that the involved political and security situation in recent months had been characterized by the continued activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists, which especially intensified in October. Apart from brazenly hostile behavior, slogan writing, and the circulation of pamphlets and disinformation, the Albanian nationalists and separatists direct their incorrigible antics against the property and personnel of the Yugoslav People's Army and members of the security services. The most dramatic instance of this was the attempted murder of Tomislav Babovic in Istok. The hostile activity of the Albanian nationalists and separatists has long been aided and abetted by hostile Albanian emigres, who have been organizing anti-Yugoslav demonstrations and attacks on our diplomatic representatives abroad, and have been increasingly vociferous in their commitment to organized demonstrations, diversions, and terrorist acts. The Albanian separatists' propaganda campaign organized new demonstrations when the trial of the group of former political leaders and managers of the economy, who were responsible for the counterrevolutionary events in the past, began.

They have been encouraged and emboldened in their ambitions by certain persons in positions of responsibility and members of LC bodies, particularly in Slovenia and Croatia, who have demanded an abrogation of the trial of Azem Vlasi and the others accused, Radovic continued. He added that the introduction by measured doses into some sections of the press of the notion of the defense of the accused has also contributed to the exacerbation of the situation, and has involved efforts to politicize the trial to the utmost, presenting it as a test case in legal practice, and insisting for this reason on the attendance of the largest possible number of foreign reporters.

Links Between the Nationalists and Separatists of Kosovo and Those of Ljubljana and Zagreb

Despite all the measures taken, the miners' threat that they would remain in their galleries was carried out, because on Friday, 27 October 1989, a group of 72 miners on the first shift, which included about 200 miners, refused to emerge from the galleries and demanded that their February demands be met, and that Azem Vlasi, Aziz Abrashi, Burhan Kavaja, and the others should be released. [passage omitted]

The fact that the same mine was again chosen leads to the conclusion that the enemy had decided on a place and course of action, reckoning that the February strikes in the same place had had a "powerful effect," especially among world public opinion and in parts of Yugoslavia. They calculated that their filthy work would meet with support. However, the majority of the Trepca miners realized that this was the work of those who were and remain sworn enemies of this country and who are trying to exploit the miners for their own gain. In the political activity that took place on Saturday and Sunday and among many meetings and gatherings in recent days, this hostile act was condemned. The harshest measures were called for, and the highest authorities and leaderships of the province, Serbia, and Yugoslavia were given full support in enforcing the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] on Kosovo. The existence of an organization and alliance of the Albanian nationalists and separatists was also shown by the demonstrations of members of the Albanian nationality in Ljubljana and Zagreb, who presented the same demands, supporting the miners and slandering in the most offensive fashion the leaders of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

After persuasion did not succeed in bringing the miners out within 3 days, a plan was drawn up to fetch them out by means of the security organs and other social self-protection personnel, so that they left the mine on Monday morning without the use of force; production at the mine has now been stopped for several days. The delay in carrying out the plan to bring out the miners had a negative effect on the anxieties of the people. The responsible authorities in Trepca, Titova Mitrovica, and the province are taking every step to normalize production at the mine as soon as possible.

The already complicated political and security situation was further exacerbated following this incident shortly before the start of the trial in Titova Mitrovica. On the first day of the trial of the former political leaders and managers of the economy in Titova Mitrovica on 30 October, many incidents were caused by Albanian nationalists and separatists, and 20 pamphlets were found in Pristina, Prizren, and Urosevac. [passage omitted]

The slogans shouted by the demonstrators have been "Kosovo - republic;" "Long live Adem Demaci" [Kosovo Albanian writer, imprisoned since 1958]; "Azem, Azem;" "Word of honor" [Besa, bese]; "Who is not with us is a traitor;" "Constitution, whether by peace

or war;" "Tito - party;" "We will not surrender the university;" "Free Vlasi;" "Constitution, constitution;" "Kosovo, yes -Metohija, no;" "Long live the 1974 Constitution;" etc. Considering the demands expressed in the slogans and the demonstrators' aggressiveness, shamelessness, and brutality, it is clear that these demonstrations are a continuation of the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists aimed at destroying Yugoslavia, creating an ethnically pure Kosovo, and a Republic of Kosovo, destined ultimately to secede.

General Condemnation of the Demonstrations

The most recent events were condemned by all progressive forces in Kosovo and throughout the country, as is evident from the many telegrams of support from gatherings in all parts expressing rage and disgust at the latest hostile and counterrevolutionary demonstrations and calling for the determined and persistent implementation of the LCY's tasks in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Radovic later stressed that every preparation must be carried out to normalize the production process in Trepca and other labor organizations and to ensure the normal course of classes at the university and in schools, while the competent authorities should take every step necessary to ensure the normal conduct of the trial in Titova Mitrovica.

It is high time for differentiation over the Kosovo issue to begin in other areas also, because we cannot permit the continued toleration of the behavior of individuals from other areas who are directly inciting Albanian nationalism and separatism, such as the organizers of the Ljubljana and Zagreb demonstrations. It is at the same time necessary to conduct political activity everywhere in order to create conditions to hold the forthcoming elections and the visits of citizens to the polls successfully, Dobrosav Radovic concluded. [passage omitted]

Demonstrations Organized by Illegal Groups

Jusuf Karakusi spoke about various features of the recent events in the province, and said that the illegal activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism had been known of earlier. Its roots go back, he said, to the end of the war and the struggle against the class enemy. It has revived, like other nationalisms, in recent years. Jusuf Karakusi said that the main organizers of these events are precisely these illegal Albanian nationalist and separatists groups and organizations, although one gains the impression from the information supplied to the public in some of the media that they are expressing justifiable discontent and fighting for freedom, their rights, and so forth. We must say that this does not hold water, and that it is a question of the activity of illegal organizations aimed against the fruits of the revolution and at the destruction of Yugoslavia. Their intention has been, if their propaganda activity fails, to switch to diversionary armed attacks and to cause bloodshed. These illegal groups exploit ties of family and friendship, while their propaganda over the trial of Azem Vlasi and the others accused aims to show that this is supposedly a political show trial.

I must say, Jusuf Karakusi continued, that there have been no secret meetings, and that there has been no so-called conspiracy against Azem Vlasi, and that we will see that there is no basis for such fictions. Speculation over the treatment of the accused during their investigation will be shown to be false, because there have been no violations of the regulations on penal procedure, as the accused can attest themselves. In conclusion, Jusuf Karakusi informed the members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee about three typical incidents from the recent demonstrations in Pristina, which involved casualties. First, regarding the wounding of a young demonstrator and his subsequent death on the way to hospital, he said that the security inspector fired in self-defense and only after the demonstrator had physically assaulted him and had attempted to snatch his pistol. A second incident concerned the pursuit of two persons suspected of organizing demonstrations, of whom one escaped, while the second was arrested. The third recent case occurred the day before yesterday in the Suncani Breg district, when the earlier escapee and another person, learning that they were surrounded by the security organs, jumped from the window of a flat and barricaded themselves in the cellar of the same building. Jusuf Karakusi said that we gave the order to our organs not to shoot in any circumstances, to bring these persons out alive, in spite of the fact that these people continually fired at the security organs. In the end, chemical means were used and after a predetermined period of time had elapsed we found the two persons dead in the cellar. [passage omitted]

Whom Do Disputes Among Ourselves Serve?

We are witnessing a further exceptional and serious situation in Kosovo, Agim Mala said at the beginning of his speech. We once again have frenzied crowds, not only of young people, shouting hostile slogans in the streets; our towns are again battlefields where crowds clash with militia forces. We must again close our windows to keep out tear gas and the noise of tanks and airplanes which scares our children and reduces them to tears. There are casualties in the streets again and people, mainly youths, are being imprisoned!

This is a serious situation for the Albanians, but no less so for Serbs and others, because Serbian and Montenegrin emigration is continuing in spite of everything that is being done.

This calls for a question: Whom do continual disputes among ourselves in Kosovo serve at a time when we are attempting to reorganize our creative potential throughout the country in order to bring an end to our agony and our material crisis?

These disputes among ourselves, Agim Mala said, have now gone on for no less that 8 and ½ years. For 8 and ½ years we have fought the nationalists and separatists

among students and schoolchildren, among intellectuals, and among the veterans and revolutionaries around whom we once wove legends. We have fought them among politicians and leaders, workers, miners, and again among students, schoolchildren, and other young people. This battle has been incessantly waged with political and administrative methods, and at the end of every campaign the results have been added up, figures have been collected of how many have been punished politically, how many sentenced for misdemeanors, and how many for crimes. I do not know whether we can now see that we are now subject to the law of diminishing returns. As many people as we remove from the scene spring up as new enemies. It has all begun to resemble the Balkan myth of the bridge, in which that which the brothers build during the day is destroyed during the night. [A Balkan legend describes how the work of three masons to build a bridge is destroyed every night by supernatural forces, who are only appeased by a human sacrifice immured in a pier of the bridge] What sinister forces are behind this destruction? What greater sacrifice can the bridge demand than the blood of our sons and daughters that was shed to achieve togetherness during the National Liberation War?

We must pause to ask the vital question: After all the blows suffered by Albanian nationalism and separatism, especially this year when we gained a leadership ready to consistently and determinedly enforce LCY policy and its conclusions on Kosovo, how was it able to revive and find the strength to once again create turmoil in the streets?

We Are Tackling the Enemy But Not the Negative Political Mood of the Masses

I have the impression that we are always tackling the enemy, but not the political mood of the broad masses. If a negative political mood did not exist among the broad masses and among the people, or, put differently, a mood convenient for the nationalists, they would not have been able to openly occupy the stage for so long. It is for this reason that I think it appropriate for our policies and their instruments to deal more seriously with the reasons which have caused such a negative mood among a section of the masses and especially among intellectuals. [passage omitted]

How We Have Got Used to the Lebanonization of Kosovo

As a Communist and a human being, I am increasingly discouraged by the way in which everything that happens in Kosovo is portrayed in other parts of the country. I do not have in mind here depictions from different viewpoints according to political interests, which are increasingly prominent. One has the impression that for other parts of the country, Kosovo is important insofar as it can serve as a pawn in political games, while concern for what is actually happening here declines. I fear that Yugoslavia is getting used to having a Lebanon here, and that it does not bother people any more. Agim Mala continued. The worst thing that could happen in such a crisis is to get used to it. [passage omitted]

Shakir Maksut, after supporting D. Radovic's opening speech and those of other speakers, said that the time has come to speak as little as possible in meetings, and to work as much as possible in the field to stabilize the situation. The enemy changes its tactics according to the way we organize our work and activity, but his aim remains the same: the destruction of Yugoslavia. This speaker also went on to stress that certain bodies and leaders in the northwest part of our country still support the activity of the nationalists and separatists, and their aims are clear. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Party Conference Opens in Pristina

LD0911093589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0831 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Pristina, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—The 15th conference of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] opened in Pristina at 0900 [0800 GMT] this morning. Over 300 delegates and a large number of guests are attending this important gathering of Kosovo Communists. The conference was opened by the playing of the Yugoslav national anthem. The conference is also attended by Miomir Grbovic and Ljubomir Varoslija, members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's Central Committee Presidium, a delegation of the Serbian LC Central Committee headed by Bogdan Trifunovic, delegations of republic party organizations and from Vojvodina, and a delegation of the LCY organization of the Yugoslav People's Army.

The main topic of the 3-day conference will be "The Kosovo LC in the Struggle for Stabilizing the Political Situation in the Province, for Social Reform and for the Democratic Transformation of the LC".

Morina Report to LC

LD0911160589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0641 GMT 9 Oct 89

["Kosovo League of Communist Conference: Rahman Morina report"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—As has been said so many times before, a battle for Yugoslavia is being waged in Kosovo. Unfortunately, instead of assistance and support for its progressive forces, Kosovo has recently been used as a means for achieving various other goals. I think I am correct in saying that tendencies have been gaining ground promoted by the forces who, by exacerbating the already tense situation in Kosovo, and through their open support for Albanian nationalists and separatists, are trying to encourage processes aimed at desroying Yugoslavia and changing its federal and socialist system, Rahman Morina said at the beginning of his report.

People have had enough and are becoming tired of the repetitive conclusions, made over many years, about the

deteriorating political-security situation in Kosovo, of programs never implemented, of new stances and assessments, of promises that things will get better. But they are not asking for a great deal. The aspirations of Albanians, of Serbs, of Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, and all others are the same. They wish to live in the belief that they are no less Yugoslav than other people living in this country, that Yugoslavia is their homeland to the same extent as for other nations and nationalities.

The great majority of people see Kosovo's future as being within Serbia and the SFRY, and will not accept an ethnically pure Kosovo, a Kosovo outside either the republic of Serbia or Yugoslavia, a life burdened by nationalism and counterrevolution. The nations and nationalities of Kosovo want a peaceful life for themselves and future generations, who, there is no doubt, will find it difficult to understand our divisions and hatred. These people want the hand of friendship, they want to live and work, to pull out of the economic backwardness, to join Europe as part of Yugoslavia. This is what communists and all progressive forces expect from the 15th Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Conference, Morina said.

The latest demonstrations, he continued, are the result of a well-organized hostile action, and are seen as an act of political sabotage against LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] policy. They represent yet another attempt by Albanian nationalists and separatists to halt the process of revitalizing political life in the province and to restore interethnic trust. However, their hostile action failed to gain support from those they expected to offer it. Communists at all levels of social organization must therefore prepare themselves for hard, consistent, and patient work in the light of the existing strong resistance to the LCY's policy on Kosovo and its implementation. This reistance stems from mistakes in political work over many years, a tendency to compromise, from opportunism and inconsistency in political action, all of which characterized the period between the 14th Kosovo LC conference and the 21st Kosovo LC Provincial Committee session in January 1989.

Referring to this period, Morina noted that it was marked by continuing exacerbation of the political and security situation, by a constant crisis, which at one stage even threatened the SFRY's territorial integrity.

According to Morina, the principal causes of the constant deterioration in the situation in Kosovo were to be found in the inadequately vigorous and inappropriate ideopolitical action of the Kosovo LC in mobilizing the working people and citizens to crush separatism. This provided a stimulus to the counterrevolutionary forces of Albanian nationalists and separatists to continue their activity and their increasingly provocative and overt public actions. The leadership at that time displayed strong opportunism and a defensive attitude in explaining the lack of success in implementing the LCY policy on Kosovo, Morina said.

At the same time a process of strong bureaucratization was taking place within the Kosovo LC and other sociopolitical structures in the province. interethnic relations continued to deteriorate, to reach the crisis point. The emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins continued unabated. Albanian nationalists and separatists changed their tactics which are now directed mainly at creating an atmosphere of fear and pressures and at threatening basic national and human rights and the dignity of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. As a result of their lack of confidence in the organs of authority, of the fact that they were not guaranteed full personal safety and safety for their property and their rights and freedoms, and due to their dissatisfaction with the overall political and security situation in the province and, in particular, because of a lack of understanding and the rejection of their problems on the part of the then leadership in Kosovo, Serbs and Montenegrins resorted to mass protests and gatherings and sought protection from the top bodies of the SR [Socialist Republic] of Serbia and the SFRY.

Morina drew attention to the fact that at its 17th session, the LCY Central Committee discussed the reasons for the failure to fulfill the tasks in Kosovo. Consequently, a disciplinary warning was meted out against the Provincial Committee and its Presidium and they were asked to establish individual responsibility of the members of these organs. Once this measure was taken it became clear to what extent the former leadership resorted to opportunism and an uncritical attitude in relation to the complex political reality in Kosovo. There was no resolute action to create unity in the Kosovo LC and its organs. Instead, an atmosphere of expectation was created in an attempt to deceive people into believing that the moves to be made would be imposed by the Serbian LC or the LCY. The lack of unity in the provincial committee itself blocked the Kosovo LC's overall activity, Morina said.

The then party leadership in Kosovo vehemently resisted cadre changes which were then used as an excuse to stage protest gatherings and demonstrations in November last year.

The main goals of those who inspired and organized these events were, however, to hamper the execution of the immediate tasks outlined at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee and those of the Kosovo LC leadership; to resist the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia, to block the action to implement the LCY policy on Kosovo and the efforts to stabilize the social and political situation in the province. In reality, this was also meant to continue to pressure the Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate and at the same time it further encouraged the aspirations cherished by Albanian nationalists and separatists toward an ethnically pure Kosovo and the creation of the republic of Kosovo.

Morina identified the 21st session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee as a watershed in the political work of the Kosovo LC. At that session a cadre renewal was carried out in the Provincial Committee and its

Presidium and an end was put to the policy which at that time was wrongly conducted.

However, the most damaging effects of the wrongly-conducted policy and of the close collusion between nationalists and the political bureaucracy came to light precisely at the time when the Kosovo LC's renewed leadership resolutely embarked on implementing the LCY's policy on Kosovo. First, there was the political manipulation of the miners in Stari Trg, and then came blackmail and open and blatant political pressures for the resignation of people who started energetic work on implementing the LCY's policy on Kosovo. In fact, these were open attempts to prevent this policy from being implemented. This was followed by hostile demonstrations by Albanian nationalists and separatists in February and March [this year] and by an armed rebellion in which 22 people lost their lives. In view of the fact that at that time the country's territorial integrity was threatened, the SFRY Presidency passed a decision introducing special measures in Kosovo.

Positive changes that followed, especially those in cadre structure and differentiation, have already helped in removing the causes and effects of the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists, and have had an impact on the further development of Kosovo along the lines of the policy of brotherhood and unity, national equality, and socialist self-management, Morina said. The constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia and in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo, as well as ideopolitical and action unity in the LC and the SR of Serbia as a whole, have also been of great importance. Rahman Morina described as the most important tasks at the moment the final showdown with the counterrevolution perpetrated by Albanian nationalists and separatists, the paving of the way for Kosovo's development, and the creation of conditions in which all people of Kosovo, regardless of their national affiliation, would live in equality and safety, and which will stop Serbs and Montenegrins from departing and instead encourage them to return to live and work in Kosovo without fear for their future.

He went on to say that, despite difficulties and resistance, the Kosovo LC's efforts to expand the front of a common struggle of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, and other nations and nationalities had produced initial encouraging results, and that the common front of all progressive forces is widening.

Only united and oriented to communism and Yugoslavia can we live better and nicer in this region. In order to resolve more quickly and in cooperation with one another the problems facing us, we must be aware of each other's positions regardless of national affiliation. As for political work among the people, we must not ignore the fact there is a great deal of confusion and ambiguity, and that under such conditions it is difficult to draw a demarcation line. We must therefore be patient in our political work, we must fight to win over every individual and those cadres and people who mean something and who have the power to mobilize people and to change the situation, Morina explained.

Morina warned that the LC should not concentrate its activity on rectifying the consequences alone. The tendency, over many years, to deal only with the consequences resulted in many problems appearing again and again. Joint efforts are needed to remove the real causes behind disrupted and deeply undermined interethnic relations.

The struggle against Albanian nationalism cannot, however, be successfully conducted unless Serbian, Montenegrin, Muslim, and any other type of nationalism and revanchism are also countered. The tendency to identify all Albanians in Kosovo with Albanian nationalists and separatists is unacceptable. The LC has always been resolute in countering such tendencies and will continue to do so.

Having stressed that the halt in the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo would be the real measure of how successful the struggle against counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists was and a barometer of how normal the situation in the province was, Morina went on to warn that the emigration continued and that the action to encourage returnees had not been gaining ground. This indicates that action by the LC and other organized socialist forces, on Kosovo above all but in the entire country, too, has not yet affected the main causes behind the problems.

The Yugoslav program on Kosovo, which urgently needs to be amended and enriched with new features, is yet to produce desired effects, primarily because there has been no necessary coordination and synchronization at the federal level among those responsible for fulfilling its set tasks and obligations. In addition, it is necessary in Kosovo to do much more to attract people with know-how, people of science and expertise who will not come to Kosovo temporarily but will stay here to build a future for themselves and their children.

We are convinced that the constitutional changes will be conducive to resolving these problems faster and more comprehensively, especially in view of the fact that we have left behind the time of serious conflicts, attempts to outwit one another, and mistrust between the organs of the republic on one hand and those of the province on the other; the time during which, because of these conflicts, we were unable to devote our attention to vital issues; the time when scientific, cultural, economic, and all other links were severed and when interethnic conflicts meant "respect" for those who initiated them. The consequences of the previous policy are many and too serious for us to allow it to be repeated, Morina warned.

One of the key tasks should be a work with young people, among whom divisions on the national basis are currently the most prominent. We must secure that the young generation is brought up in the spirit of Yugoslav socialist patriotism. Morina advocated a more resolute and efficient protection of the young people from the

influence of Albanian nationalism and separatism. This obligation must be taken up and carried out by members of the LC and other cadres from educational, scientific, and cultural institutions, public information media and others. They must realize and ensure that schools and universities cannot and must not be sources of the spread of nationalistic ideology and anti-Yugoslav mood among the young people. In the past 10 days, mostly students shouted unacceptable and hostile demands on streets. This shows that we in families, schools and youth organizations have not been working enough with them.

At the same time, the president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee marked as unavoidable issue differentiation among teachers, above all, because a number of teachers acts from positions opposed to the LCY policy.

Morina categorically asserted that educators and interpretors of socialism and the LCY policy cannot be those who were in conflict with that policy through their activity from nationalistic positions.

Stressing that the Kosovo LC has never been in conflict with intelligentsia, he added that a number of these people have been silent for a long time, apparently waiting for some better times to come, when there would be more tolerance for democratic dialogue. This is our time for both democratic dialogue and political action. To wait is just to lose time. The basic issue is from which political positions someone acts. However, those who are opposed to the LCY policy are also present at the political scene.

The LC, howeveer, cannot have the right to lead a "dialogue" with nationalists and anticommunists, as well as with champions of other already formed tendencies to bureaucratic and bourgeoise orientation, which negate our society. We should fight them on the public scene persistently. A number of intelligentsia members, who consider themselves to be an intellectual elite, and, unfortunately, equate themselves with the intelligentsia in Kosovo, has a negative influence on a number of young people. Even today, they serve forces who were for the destruction of Yugoslavia, even today they see prospects for the Albanian nationality outside the SR of Serbia and the SFRY. They still spread illusions about the Greater Albania, they push the young people into bloodshed, but are very careful that their children are not among them, Morina added.

He also recalled that Albanian nationalists and separatists find a direct stimulus and encouragement for their counter-revolutionary activity in anti-Yugoslav subversive propaganda coming from abroad, in particular from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. That propoganda, everything taken into account, represents a longterm orientation of the leadership of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, irrespective of tactical and pragmatic changes in stands and intensity of activity. The orientation of that propaganda remains ideological exclusiveness, while at the same time the fundamental values of our society are repudiated and Albanian nationalism and separatism are supported. It is neither in the interest of good-neighborly relations between the two countries nor in the interest of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, because it pushes it into a direct internal conflict and in a conflict with other nations and nationalities of our country.

Albanians in Yugoslavia do not need tutorship and paternalism from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The Albanian nationality tied its destiny to the life in the SFRY, because in it, it went through the national, cultural and any other revival, and because in it, it has all rights which other nations in Yugoslavia enjoy.

Yugoslavia has always been for building good neighborly relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. This is in the interest of a renewal of the bridges of friendship between peoples of the two countries. This is in the interest of peace and security in the Balkans. A further development of these relations will depend in the future on the readiness of the leadership of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for such cooperation, without interference in internal affairs of our country and without territorial pretensions, Rahman Morina said.

Talking about tasks of communists in implementing social reform, Morina assessed that demands for the reform are also met with considerable resistance and opposition. The greatest resistance to social changes are made by forces which base their monopoly of decision-making on various privileges and the absence of democratic political responsibility.

Morina stressed that not in all parts of the country, the awareness is ripe regarding the need for a creation, on democratic basis, of a renewed, united, and efficient LCY as ideological and political integration force in Yugoslavia. It is clear, he added, that the struggle for the LCY transformation must be above all the struggle for the development of socialist self-management, for socialist democracy, for survival and progress of Yugoslavia.

The Kosovo LC is in favor of democratic centralism, because it enables democratic flow of ideas, the struggle of opinions, and their synthesis in a cohesive policy and practice, Morina said. The Kosovo LC is against all efforts aimed at replacing the principle of democratic centralism with consensus, which would lead to the weakening of LCY unity and efficiency. In the proposed resolution of the conference, we made it clear what kind of political pluralism we favor. The introduction of political pluralism as a form of multiparty system would ensure neither more democracy nor more freedom nor more initiative. The Kosovo LC is in favor of a political pluralism whose basis is self-managing socialism and Yugoslavia, which means the struggle of opinions, pluralism of ideas and programs, and free association within the Socialist Alliance. But, Morina said, that must be a

different socialist alliance of working people, transformed and equipped for democratic expression of interests of all political subjects within it. Socialist self-management is the essence of democracy which the LC advocates, and not the struggle for power of political parties. Party-type organization in Yugoslavia would lead to dangerous divisions on an interethnic basis. In our society, multiparty system would mean formation of national parties. They would be, as a rule, antisocialist, Morina said.

The Kosovo LC is advocating a modern form of the struggle for a strong and united, based on Tito's vision of brotherhood and unity, Yugoslavia as the greatest achievement of all our nations and nationalities. Proceeding from the continuity of the socialist revolution, we are advocating the adoption of a new SFRY Constitution.

Regarding the rights and status of the provinces, it is clear, and it should be always openly stressed, that they are not and cannot be state communities as republics are—thereby in our constitutional set-up, they cannot have the same rights as republics. The Kosovo LC, however, advocates that in a new constitution, the provinces are directly represented in federal bodies and organizations with the right to participate independently in the process of decision-making at the federal level.

The basic orientation, which the Kosovo LC have presented today at the conference, are clear. We shall persist in the struggle against counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists; against nationalism, wherever it occurs; we shall persist in halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, as well as in creating conditions for the return of those who emigrated and anyone else who wants to live and work in Kosovo. We must stop divisions among people, and remove their causes. Differentiation remains among the priority tasks. Differentiation is necessary for the unity in the implementation of the LCY policy. The aim of the ideological and political differentiation is not to remove people, but above all, to gather all those who are in the lines of progress, on the line of brotherhood and unity, Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, said.

Citing that the task of the communists in Kosovo is made more difficult by the fact that the situation in the country is not in their favor, Morina noted that a real psychological war between communists in some parts of the country is waging, "and some forces use Kosovo more and more as a smokescreen for realization of their aims in breaking-up our common homeland."

We demand that finally an end is put to this, that we are not hindered in the struggle for normalization of the situation in Kosovo, and all this because we are starved of peace and harmony in Kosovo and in the whole country, Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, concluded when presenting the report at the 15th conference of the Kosovo LC.

Conference Proceedings

LD0911220589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0954 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—The Kosovo LC, in a struggle to stabilize the political situation in the province, for social reform, and the democratic transformation of the LC, is the main theme of the 15th conference of the Kosovo LC, which began with the intonation of the Yugoslav national anthem in the formal hall of the Provincial Assembly in Pristina. The most important gathering of Kosovo communists, in which 320 delegates represent the 100,000 members of the Kosovo LC, is being attended by delegations of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee, all republican LC organizations, the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], and by many prominent socio-political and public workers and revolutionaries.

At the head of the delegation of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee is Presidium President Nedeljko Sipovac, and the delegations of the republican LCs and the LCY organization in the YPA are led by members of their presidia and executive secretaries.

At the beginning of the conference of Kosovo communists, which is being covered by almost 300 reporters, film crew members, and press photographers, the standing orders were adopted and the working bodies of the conference elected. [passage omitted]

The conference will sit in plenum and will last, as announced, for 3 days. The delegates, as well as adopting a report on the activities of the provincial conference, the statutory and supervisory commissions in the interconference period, should also adopt a resolution on the forthcoming tasks of the Kosovo LC and changes and amendments to the provincial party statute. A new Provincial Committee, statutory, and supervisory commission will be elected, and delegates of the Kosovo LC at the 14th LCY extraordinary congress and candidates for the organs of the LCY will be chosen.

The address, "The Kosovo LC in the struggle for the stabilization of the political situation in the province, social reform, and the democratic transformation of the LC", was given by Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. [TANJUG take 2 not received]

This conference, like the forthcoming congresses and conferences in other parts of the LC, is being held at a crucial time for Yugoslavia when it must find its own path in the way out of the crisis and the renewal of socialism and democracy, said Miomir Grbovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, addressing the delegates. This is why the LCY at all its meetings and finally at the 14th extraordinary congress, must define its political program for the struggle for complete social reform, presenting it in a new way in the democratic conditions of political pluralism.

The situation in Kosovo is seriously burdening our entire country and is one of the most serious aspects of the general Yugoslav crisis. For a long time now, with the escalation of Albanian separatist nationalism, brotherhood and unity, the federal system, socialism, and the constitutional order have been under attack in Kosovo. This, in essence, poses a threat to Yugoslavia.

Hence the struggle to resolve the problems of Kosovo has a central place in the tasks of all progressive socialist forces, Grbovic said, and in particular of the LCY. And hence the Kosovo LC must invest all its efforts in precisely these tasks. This is its historical test. However, these tasks also include all the problems and tasks of social reform, which is clearly the only lasting basis for the solution of all problems, including those in Kosovo.

Grbovic assessed that there has been no other issue in the preceding period which has involved the organs of the LCY to the extent that Kosovo has. Of course, the organs of the Serbian LC and Kosovo LC were intensively involved in this, he said more precisely. [passage omitted]

The resolute and open ideopolitical differentiation in the Kosovo LC has contributed by and large to this unity out of which people have emerged in the forefront who are set to implement the LCY policy in the struggle for stabilizing and developing Kosovo and create a united front of struggle of all the progressive forces in Kosovo.

Talking about changes in Kosovo, one should not disregard the state organs' inevitably increased effectiveness either, primarily in administration and the judiciary, something that is the foundation of establishing political and legal security in Kosovo, particularly in the sphere of enforcing legality and protecting the rights of all people in Kosovo.

We in Kosovo must strive to establish and strengthen the principle of a stae with the rule of law. The constitutional changes in the Socialist Republic of Serbia were the decisive moment to this end. The main issue now, in Grbovic's words, is what should be done to ensure in practice the functioning of the state and other institutions in Kosovo. Our commitment is not to compensate for the state and the other constitutional institutions by political means and through political organizations, but to develop a democracy whereby all institutions and even the state organs will carry out their share of work in a responsible and efficient way in the interest of, and directly controlled by, citizens, Grbovic stressed.

All this narrows down the maneuvering grounds for Albanian separatist nationalism, drives it out into the plain, and compels it eventually to embark upon aggressive and even bloody clashes with the legal organs of the protection of peace and order. This is also the main reason for withholding certain extraordinary measures from the federal state's authority.

In Grbovic's opinion, by assuming such an approach, however, Albanian nationalism accelerates the process of its own isolation, provoking resistance in the majority of Albanians who want a peaceful shared life with the rest of the inhabitants in Kosovo. This was evident in earlier confrontations of this kind as well as in those occurring in the last few days.

The problems in Kosovo still culminate in interethnic relations. One cannot say that this situation has been changed essentially as long as the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins or members of any other nation under pressure continues, as long as one hears the slogan "Kosovo—republic," as long as mass demonstrations and terrorist actions of Albanian separatist nationalism threatens in Kosovo. Therefore, despite all our efforts so far, the danger of a further deterioration in the situation is still not to be dismissed.

Unfortunately, Grbovic stated, we cannot say that all of us in the country are united in our approach to all the essential issues and resolving the most pressing problems in Kosovo. There is still a great deal of misunderstanding, and even confrontations, regarding this, something that plagues the LCY too. There are fresh examples such as those in connection with the trial of the well-known group of former political and economic leaders in Kosovo in Titova, Mitrovica.

The key to success in Kosovo must be sought in our unity, which can be proven only through implementation of LC decisions and overcoming divisions and negative phenomena in political life which are destroying that unity, Grbovic stated.

The most urgent task in Kosovo is the elimination of divisions on a national basis and the return of mutual trust between people regardless of their nationality. Hostile, and even terrorist, activity by Albanian nationalists must be prevented by all constitutional means, and it is especially necessary to identify and eliminate centers in Kosovo from which such actions are carried out. Instead of children and nationalistically indoctrinated young people suffering, those who lead them to this should be brought to account for it. [passage omitted]

Liberties and the rights of men and citizens, and who should become the basic subject of the social and state system, are at the center of our political reform. In Kosovo, statistic bureaucratism inflicted enormous harm both in the economic sphere and in the sphere of interethnic relations, where it became the fulcrum, and even the front, of nationalism. An obvious example of this is the behavior of some of the Former Kosovo leadership, Grbovic believes.

Reaffirmation of the rights and liberties of men and citizens as a subject controlling all functions of the authorities, as well as affirmation of the rule of law principle, are the only ways to consolidate equality of all citizens and national equality in Kosovo, and the only way to reestablish security, interethnic trust, and peace in the homes and collectives in Kosovo. For that reason, political reform is at the same time the main program of political stabilization of the situation in Kosovo, in the

same way that economic reform is the program of economic recovery of Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Vidosav Andjelkovic first drew attention to mistakes in the work of the Kosovo LC, which were made up to the time when cadre renewal of the provincial leadership was implemented. Andjelkovic asked the conference to send a sharp protest to the north west parts of our country for their support of separatist forces in Kosovo.

These parts, according to him, like Albanian nationalists, act against Yugoslavia and seek support and allies for this outside our country. Andjelkovic added that now, after unity between the Serbian LC and the Kosovo LC has been established, the main task is to stop further interethnic divisions and conflicts, and to halt emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins.

Andjelkovic also asked the conference, as the top gathering of Kosovo Communists, to condemn quarrels and disunity between top leadership in the country.

In a welcoming speech to the conference delegates, Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, said that Kosovo Communists can today note, that despite great difficulties and problems which they face, forces are growing which are capable of defending socialism and Yugoslavia, as well as securing a peaceful and equal life together for all people in Kosovo. This is and remains our main task and goal, about which there cannot be hesitation.

Precisely for that reason, according to Trifunovic, Albanian nationalistic separatism renews its attacks aimed at national equality, socialism, and Yugoslavia.

A long-lasting opportunistic attitude of the leadership in Kosovo towards national euphoria and Albanian nationalistic fanaticism, which obliterated differences between national and nationalistic, and furthermore, according to Trifunovic, divided nations and nationalities who have lived together for centuries, planned distrust, resistance, and even hatred between people just because the other man speaks another language, wears a different national costume, and has a different national name.

The question, which the conference will address, is why nationalism and separatism have been renewed, Trifunovic said.

The fact is, he noted, that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee's action faced resistant opportunism from the former Kosovo LC leadership, above all, opportunism towards Albanian separatistic nationalism.

We must draw attention to a thesis which for a long time has given support for the former opportunistic policy, and which can be summed up in the claim that all nationalisms are equally dangerous always and everywhere, including Kosovo. That "equation" between Albanian, Serbian, and Montenegrin nationalisms was consistently put forward as an inevitable platform for national equality, brotherhood, and unity in Kosovo.

A lot of time passed, as did political struggles, before our stance was understood more widely: that each nationalism has the same anticommunist, anti-Yugoslav, antihumanistic—that is, counter-revolutionary essence, Trifunovic stressed. However, in each social situation and at each phase of development, all nationalisms do not have the same effect, are not organized equally well, do not make the same types of assaults on the social system, and do not have the same practical and political importance.

The political guidelines of the LCY Central Committee's ninth session on Kosovo has been affirmed on a number of occasions but in some parts of the country they have in fact been denied and jeopardized, Trifunovic assessed. In his words, this does not refer to politicians' statements alone but also to some institutions' decisions, and particularly to an unprecedented campaign of the media in those environments which, in their misinterpretations of the facts and without any elementary professional objectivity suggest that Albanian nationality should be protected from Greater-Serbian hegemonism, Trifunovic said.

One ought to say openly, he believes, that Albanian nationalism and separatism had counted on this kind of support and that it received larger deliveries of this support than it had expected. In its resistance to Yugoslavia and the LCY's policy it counts on this support today, too.

The emigration of the Serbian and Montenegrin population from Kosovo continues to express in a synthetic the whole burden of the Kosovo situation and all the unfavorable factors in interethnic relations in Kosovo, Trifunovic assessed. [passage omitted]

In the course of its development, the SR of Serbia will develop as a modern state and community, in which economic development and economic reform are inseparable from the development of democracy. The SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] of Kosovo is a part of that conception of deveopment of our republic. Hence, the SR of Serbia will pay the greatest possible attention to development of Kosovo and give the maximum support for economic reform in Kosovo, for all economically sound business initiatives and investment enterprises, and in particular, for measures resolving work prospects of qualified and young people, Trifunovic stressed. [passage omitted]

Silvo Komar, executive secretary of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, said that our greatest problem is that we do not know each other well enough, as, he noted, is seen from the statement of Vidosav Andjelkovic in the part where he spoke about the counterrevolution in the legal organs of Slovenia. This creates the impression that it is the deaf debating a way out of the crisis and the role of the LC, and that we have no desire whatsoever to find a solution. This is precisely why all meetings of communists prior to the 14th LCY Congress must seek ways to emerge from the crisis and give their view of coexistence within Yugoslavia. If

everyone puts forward his own program, Komar considers, we will be able to establish what we have in common and where our differences lie.

Recalling that the communists in Slovenia, together with the others, created the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ], Yugoslavia as a community of equal nations, integrated of their own free will which do not renounce their right to self-determination, Komar added: Yugoslavia is for us an important heritage and achievement. We will steadfastly advocate its democratization and modernization. We are therefore resolutely fighting against the break up of Yugoslavia, and the devaluing and destruction of those constitutional foundations which guarantee the equality of nations and nationalities. We firmly oppose majority rule over numerically smaller nations, or the idea of nationalities and minorities as something second rate. We believe, Komar stressed, that the majority must guarantee conditions for the survival and development of the minority. Precisely for this reason, we must guarantee more rights for the minority than the majority has. In this connection, Komar added that he does not claim that Slovenia has succeeded in guaranteeing all this, but he is sure that in Kosovo this problem is manifested in, as he said, all its facets.

The level of human rights and freedoms and the equality of nations and nationalities is measured in every society by the extent to which they are guaranteed where this is objectively most difficult. This is how we understand the LCY stands on Kosovo, and this is why we support them, because they are in accordance with civilized standards understood in this way. Our program document is written in this vein, Silvo Komar said, and handed a copy of the document from the platform to Rahman Morina, saying that he is doing this "so that we may get to know each other better, so that we may more easily establish what we have in common, and where the differences exist".

First to react to Komar's speech was Mitar Balevic, who asked which minority he was thinking of—the one in Slovenia, or perhaps the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. If, Balevic added, he was thinking of the latter, we do not want to be assured of more rights than the majority. Balevic also asked Komar why he said nothing about phenomena in that republic which are destroying the unity of the country.

Replying to Balevic's question, Silvo Komar said that he would explain his idea on the concept of minority, adding that in the Republic of Serbia, the Serbs, as the majority, have responsibility for the others. My understanding is that a sense of security is a very flexible concept, because it can be understood as physical or social, Komar said. As for secession, Slovene communists have their clear stand which is written into the program. Komar then asked: If all Slovene citizens were to express their views in a referendum on being part of some other state, would anyone would have the right to prevent them?

Komar added in conclusion that the biggest problem is when there are several truths, particularly when they are the truths of various nationalities.

Reacting to Komar's speech, Momcilo Trajkovic noted that in Kosovo the Albanian nationality, as the majority, should be responsible for the minority. This is precisely what we want—for the Albanian nationality to raise its voice against the nationalists and separatists. Support most often arrives from Slovenia for those who are not for togetherness, Trajkovic said.

As long as Slovenia says that there is no counterrevolution in Kosovo, that AVNOJ Yugoslavia was being defended in Stari Trg, we in Kosovo will not agree with this.

Trajkovic noted that what Komar said was much more moderate than the stands of the official Slovene leadership, to which, according to him, documents from the conference should be sent. You must admit that we here know best how it is to live here, like you know best how it is for you out there, Trajkovic said while addressing Komar.

Unfortunately, he added, we also differ on the badges we wear. You wear a yellow star on your lapel and I a red star. But I hope that yours is yellow just temporarely until the extraordinary congress, when we shall understand each other better. The delegates applauded both Silvo Komar and ZMomcilo Trajkovic.

A reason why a flood of emigrants from Kosovo is still flowing lies in the fact that Albanian nationalism receives support from Croatia and Slovenia, Batica Maksimovic holds. Would the latest demonstrations by Albanian separatists occur if comrade Janez Kocijancic—and not just he—openly called for uprising, Maksimovic asked, and added that those who defend Albanian nationalism in fact defend their own separatism. Maksimovic answered Silvo Komar and then said that Kosovo needs no defense from citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality.

After these replies, the working Presidium appealed to delegates and warned twice that polemics with representatives of the Slovene LC Central Committee should not be deepened in this manner.

Uksine Zajmi believes that even if we could have said in 1981 that the young people were indoctrinated, now we cannot say that, since in the meantime the children have grown up and again took to streets last week. Zajmi warned about shortcomings in work with young people by the Socialist Youth Federation, the LC, teachers, and parents. A void in upbringing was filled in by the enemy. For that reason, we must more resolutely ask that a differentiation in education is accomplished.

Zivojin Mitrovic drew attention to previously masked and now increasingly more open support provided by Slovenia and Croatia to nationalists, both in the country and abroad. This is simultaneously, according to Mitrovic, the answer to the question why the situation in

Kosovo has not stabilized, despite the efforts of the LC and all other progressive forces.

High treason—this is the right term for democracy offered to us from Croatia and Slovenia—Mitrovic said, and asked the conference to send a demand that support and aid to Albanian nationalists and separatists is brought to an end. [passage omitted]

Mark Prenaj noted that these were now perhaps the last attempts by Albanian nationalists and separatists, and stressed that the communists of Kosovo would prove that they favor a Kosovo of equal nations and nationalities, a Kosovo in the SR of Serbia and Yugoslavia. Our most important task is to stop the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and to restore personal and interethnic trust. We will succeed in this if we resolutely abandon the former leadership's opportunistic policy, Prenaj said.

In Slavica Kreckovic's opinion, the stabilization of the situation in the province requires an energetic showdown with the nationalists in Trepca and Stari Trg, who, encouraged by the support of "the unprincipled coalition", are inflicting great political and economic damage on Kosovo. [passage omitted] The conference delegates unanimously endorsed the list of candidates for members of the LCY Central Committee, the LCY Statutory and Monitoring Commission, and the equivalent commissions in the Kosovo LC. They did not, however, endorse the list of candidates for the new composition of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. This followed the remarks of Bogdan Kecman, Miladin Ivanovic, Mus Bekaj, and Milorad Samardzic that a certain number of people who, as they believe, bear part of the responsibility for the difficult situation in the province had been included in the lists of candidates for the future composition of the provincial committee. This refers particulary to Daut Jasanica, Vuk Filipovic, Zivorad Ivic, Spendo Salja, Halit Dumani, and Milan Krnjevic. It was also pointed out that the lists had been hastily prepared and without any influence from the party grassroots.

In view of these warnings, the endorsment of the list of candidates for the top party organ in the province will be carried out tomorrow, pending a more detailed debate at the conference.

The highest assembly of the communists of Kosovo will resume work tomorrow.

Second Day of Proceedings

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[Excerpts] Pristina, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—We must not retreat before the forces of separatism and counterrevolution either in Kosovo or anywhere else. It is necessary to do everything both to preserve the unity of the country and to begin with the implementation of the great social reform. In the spirit of these words by Sonja Scepanovic, yesterday's discussion on the tasks of "the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] in the struggle for the stabilization of the political situation in the province, social reform and deocratic transformation of the LC" opened today in Pristina, marking the beginning of the second day of the session of the 15th conference of the Kosovo communists.

Conflicts between partial and general interests, and, above all, separatist aspirations, are becoming prominent, she assessed. The same holds for some imaginary fear of a Serbian dominance, from hegemonism and unitarism, from the unity in the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia. These days also, nationalistic manifestations in Kosovo are supported in various ways, counterrevolution and, thereby, a break-up of Yugoslavia is supported. This is support for the counterrevolution, this is the betrayal of the country.

"I am not trying to justify such a difficult situation and long-lasting counterrevolutionary activity by Albanian nationalists and separatists only with the disunity and the support from the northwest parts of the country", Sonja Scepanovic noted. This is not a justification of our tragic experience. But, it would be incomparably easier for us to work, if there were unity within the LC leadership, in particular within the LCY Central Committee and its Pesidium.

It would greatly help if the truth were brought out into the open. That would also help many Albanians in Kosovo, who, occasionally find it more difficult than Serbs and Montenegrins do to fight separatists from their own ranks. They expect from Yugoslavia, especially from the northwest parts of the country, a more efficient help.

The Slovene Constitution, according to her, represents an encouragement for Albanian separatism not to abandon the demands for "Kosovo, Republic". Thus, measures undertaken so far regarding the normalization of the situation and normal life in Kosovo, are belittled.

Talking critically about those who stir up Kosovo separatism, Sonja Scepanovic asked: "What if we exchange our places of residence, only for a short period of time, just for the sake of experience. Perhaps, afterwards they would trust us. Those who hold that we in Kosovo are settling accounts with Albanians, in fact, equate all Albanians with Albanian nationalists and separatists". [passage omitted]

[Words indistinct] According to Momcilo Trajkovic, at this juncture the most important thing is to carry out differentiation with the protagonists of Albanian nationalism and separatism to the end, but at the same time, it is necessary to very patiently talk to those who find themselves on the wrong side for different reasons.

We must also oppose those who are spreading fear among Albanians from Serbia and Serbs, Trajkovic added, pointing out that the best barrier for such activity is to create a front of unity and understanding among Serbs, Montenegrins, and Albanians, a front which is for

Kosovo within Yugoslavia and Serbia, and not for Kosovo in Yugoslavia outside Serbia.

Momcilo Trajkovic pointed out that the most difficult problem to be dealt with was the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and that the Albanian nationalisty was passing a test of humanity on this issue. Saying that since 1981, over 40,000 Serbs and Montenegrins had emigrated from Kosovo, Trajkovic said that the problem of emigration was often mistakenly linked only with immediate pressures of nationalists or with economic reasons, while the depth of the process in which bureaucratic-nationalistic and separatist forces with all their means had worked on disentegrating the spiritual and cultural identity of the Serbian nation in Kosovo was neglected. [passage omitted]

Bariskim Rahmani beleives that the problem of Kosovo cannot be dealt with without greater participation of young people in production and political processes, while one of the most important issues is to provide new jobs for a higher number of unemployed. [passage omitted]

It is a fact that Kosovo is passing through a period of open political divisions, Djordje Jevtic said, but I fear that on this platform we are constructing a somewhat oversimplified picture of the province, that we are over-concerned with others when depicting ourselves. Rooted in the past we cannot look to tomorrow, and still less to the future. We are being eagerly "assisted" in rooting ourselves in the past from all sides.

Whether some in this country admit it or not, Kosovo is the first and final test of the stability of Yugoslavia, in other words of all its parts, Jevtic stressed. If we do not acknowledge that we should together tackle the resolution of the Kosovo problem, instead of heating up this hot potato and then passing it "generously" onto Serbia, the threatening danger of a Lebanonization of first, Kosovo, and then the whole of Yugoslavia, will arise.

Fear and despair have crept into all of us. The only ones who are not frightened are those who desire bloodshed in our streets, those who by no means can make their dreams of "the seventh republic" comne true, of the second Albanian state on the Balkans with the ultimate aim—a state-like entity without a place for any member of those nations whose first letter is not "a". Jeftic then went on to note that the propaganda and psychological war in Kosovo had "perplexed" even the minds of the most innocent people. The latest developments are increasingly giving rise to the notion that Kosovo is surrounded by an international conspiracy in liaison with the domestic "fifth column" elements, some of whom, unfortunately, are still occupying significant social posts. [passage omitted]

Agim Malja, however, maintains that the intellectuals cannot be won over to the party's line, irrespective of how progressive it is, if the LC method of action is by and large based upon the party's repressive measures.

Reflecting on the attitude of the northwestern parts of the country towards Kosovo, Malja noted that no one in his right mind would claim that Slovenes or Croats produce Albanian nationalism and separatism by their benevolent view of some issues in the drama of Kosovo. However, individual statements from those parts of the country heat up the atmosphere in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the position of young people in Kosovo, Radoslav Zlatanovic drew attention to the fact that mosques are constantly being created in many settlements "so that there are more of them than in the Libyan Jamahiriyah," but that, on the other hand, there are no places in which the most common dances are organized for young people. The creators of separatism have channelled the energy of young Albanians into counterrevolution, so in this way they have become the victims and assault troops of this strategy.

Skender Karohoda observed that ideopolitical differentiation at the university has not been carried out, and that a united front has not been created there against nationalism. As a result of everything that has happened in Kosovo and at the university, the emigration of Serbian and Montenegrin cadres has not been halted, indeed there are hints that this process is being accelerated. Karohoda believes that those who have been expelled from the party because of clashes with LCY policy cannot continue to attend lectures at Pristina university.

In the continuation of the afternoon's work, the Kosovo LC Conference established a list of candidates for delegates to the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY. The approval of this list, on which, as on others, there will be a secret ballot, was postponed last night because of several objections to some of the names on it. In the morning, the delegates were told, a session was held of the Provincial Committee Presidium which considered these objections. The Presidium assessed most of the objections as justified, and Daut Jasanica and Vuk Filipovic were removed from the list.

The Presidium did not accept the request that Zivojin Ivic be removed from the list of delegates for the congress, for, as Bogdan Kecman observed last night, opportunism and remaining silent. Rahman Morina said that Ivic has proved himself to be a consistent campaigner for LCY policy and that negative descriptions could not be ascribed to this 1941 veteran from Pristina.

Ivic himself, however, desisted from the proposal that he be a delegate of the highest gathering of Yugoslav communists, giving up his place to young people.

Youth representatives otherwise objected that they have few representatives on all the lists for Kosovo LC organs and that there is no member of the youth organization among the candidates for delegates. This objection was recognized as valid by the conference and so three youth candidates were placed on the list. [passage omitted]

Jusuf Karakusi, secretary of the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs, stated that the political and security

situation in Kosovo is still very difficult. Hostile activity from a position of Albanian nationalism and separatism has not been stopped and the process of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins has not been halted. There are numerous reasons for this. According to Karakusi, the worst thing is that in some environments, hostile activity has more influence than the organized forces. This does not mean that the Albanian nationality supports the sinister aims of the separatists, but this is the consequence of mistaken and inappropriate political work. It can be said of some environments that they are passive and act as if nothing that is happening here is of concern to them.

Karakusi said that forces other than those that exist are needed for the struggle against enemies. After all, 100,000 communists represent a huge force, provided that all fight for LCY policy. However, despite the large number of teachers in education in Kosovo, those who are destructive have a greater influence among pupils, because they are more active and aggressive in their propaganda activity. The aims of the Albanian nationalists and separatists are, Karakusi said, old in their roots and new in their methods and in the aspiration for their implementation. Our opponents, Karakusi stressed, are making great use of the weaknesses that are reflected in disunity in the country.

Serbian nationalism in Kosovo, in Karakusi's assessment, has appeared and is expressed both as revanchism and the consequence of the activity of Albanian nationalism. Analyzing the thesis about which nationalism is more dangerous, he observed that this is the one which aspires towards the secession of part of the territory, and in this instance this is Albanian nationalism.

In conclusion, Karakusi stated that there are many elements for opposing hostile propaganda, because the achievements of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia are not the result of pressures of nationalists but the result of LCY policy on national equality. [passage omitted]

Ivan Grzetic, member of the Croat LC CC Presidium, greeted the conference on behalf of this republic's LC and its Central Committee, and pointed out that the Kosovo leadership was in the most difficult position in Yugoslavia. At the same time, one should acknowledge that they have comprehended the problems in a serious way, a conclusion one may arrive at on the basis of the entire preparations for and the documentation of this conference, Grzetic added.

He maintains it would do no good if the national bickering, in line with the teachings of the LCY CC over the last few years, is to be resumed at the coming conferences and congresses.

It would be even worse if we attempted to do all our national bickering via Kosovo which has its own difficult problems.

I had no intention in the least of defending the Croat Government, since Croatia, too, has its own problems. It, too, has its own nationalism as do all the other parts of the Yugoslav community. However, I believe that the official Croat policy has not given any pretext for being mentioned so much during these 2 days at the conference. It is true that some individuals, groups, and even delegates in the Croat Assembly have demanded things that in this area are regarded as being unacceptable. Nevertheless, what sort of Croat leadership would it be were it not to want to improve the situation in this part of our Yugoslavia, Grzetic asked.

We accepted, as did all the other parts of Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav program for Kosovo. We are also carrying it out properly. But if some in Croatia, and even the Croat official policy, come up with a different proposal for the resolving of this crucial problem here, and some other parts do not like it, they do not have to be doomed to elimination, Grzetic said. Grzetic mentioned in this context Dobrica Cosic's interview to the Italian press, which had deeply shocked him, but he nevertheless had realized that the Serbian policy was not to be blamed.

Josep Ivanovic said that it is not only Serbs and Montenegrins who are emigrating from Kosovo, but also Muslims, Turks, Romanies and Croatians. Analyzing the causes of the emigration of Croats from two Kosovo local communities—Janjevo and Letnica—Ivanovic said that there had not been drastic cases of attacks by Albanian nationalists in these environments, but since 1981, 600 Croats had emigrated from Janjevo. Today, about 20 houses are empty. If things continue like this, Janjevo to will be in danger of becoming "ethnically pure."

Saying that besides the difficult political situation in Kosovo, and that the lack of adequate conditions for life is also having an impact on emigration, Josip Ivanovic stressed that Croats are not seeking charity from anyone, but want to be equal with everyone. [passage omitted] Zivojin Mitrovic, in his capacity as the president of the Election Commission, announced that 14 members of Serbian nationality had been elected to the Provincial Committee while, according to the criteria of national representation, there should have been 17. As he put it, this means that three too many Albanians are elected to the Provincial Committee.

Tomislav Sekulic insisted that the vote should not be repeated but that the Election Commission's report be adopted, while the conference should charge the newly-elected Provincial Committee with the duty of later devizing a solution in order to adjust the national structure of its composition.

However, Slobodan Jaukovic insisted that the code book on the conference's work and the decision on the Provincial Committee's elections and national structure should be observed consistently, and he proposed that instead of the three Albanians with the least votes, the three Serbs with the most votes among those who had not been elected should be included in its (the Provincial Committee's) composition.

Sekulic replied that one should not insist too much on this issue but rather trust the new leadership. [passage omitted]

Zoran Andjelkovic presented a solution, whereby instead of 71—as it was envisaged—77 members should be elected to the provincial committee, that is another 6 members, 1 Albanian, and 5 Serbs, a solution that would fit the "national charts".

Tomislav Sekulic went on to insist on the working presidium's proposal. In his opinion, the elections were in line with the statute and the code book.

Addressing the session for the third time, Slobodan Jaukovic said that the number of the provincial committee's members should not be increased nor compromises made. It is necessary to observe the code book and the decision, according to which the top forum of Kosovo communists ought to comprise 45 Albanians, 17 Serbs, 4 Montenegrins, 2 Muslims, 1 Turk, 1 Romany, and 1 Yugoslav.

Dusko Celic also proposed that the number of the provincial committee members be increased from 71 to 77, with the people who failed to "pass" but otherwise won the highest number of votes. He assessed that the elections had been correct formally but not essentially.

If in this way, the regional and national structure is to be met, Rahman Morina agreed, then Celic's proposal is correct.

The election commission was charged with the duty of examining this. After a brief break, Rahman Morina's proposal—that the conference pass a new decision according which the provincial committee's new composition will comprise 77 members—was accepted. The conference delegates accepted this proposal at 0100 as they verified the appointment of the new provincial committee, statutory and monitoring commission. This was the end of the 2d day's work at the conference.

Provincial Committee Members Listed

LD1111180589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0138 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Pristina, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—At the 15th conference of the Kosovo League of Communist a new 77-strong Provincial Committee was elected. The members are:

Rahman Morina (235 votes), Ljubomir Popovic (217), Ali Abazi (225), Jakup Aslani (222), Jonuz Alija (212), Bahtir Berisha (203), Djordje Bozovic (207), Milica Bojanic (217), Endjel Seljmani (219), Iljaz Bektesi (209), Malice Bajoku (213), Nebih Berisa (219), Rahim Bajrami (214), Bozidar Dajic (199), Veselin Davidovic (207), Ibrahim Eljsani (224), Bajram Gasi (216), Fadilj Gasi (219), Hadzi Glareva (208), Krist Gegaj (230), Ljuljzim Grcina (224), Osman Gasi (225), Rade Djokic (175), Dzafer Dzukad (241), Alji Hadzimehemti (216), Hazir Haziri (218), Ramiz Hoti (220), Azem Hajdini (221), Besim Imriaori (200), Zivorad Igic (220), Gani Jasari (194), Trajko Jeftic (204), Dojcin Kostic (194), Azem Krasnici, (230) Abit Kutlovic (211), Azemine Krasnici (235), Hasan Krasnici (214), Kemalj Kamberi (229), Radenko Krulj (208), Ljuan Koka (230), Salihe Konjufca (222), Sedat Kuci (239), Agim Malja (228), Baize Mucaj (214), Binak Madzaraj (200), Zivojin Martinovic (174), Nazmi Misini (223), Ramadan Murtaj (211), Sakir Maksut (232), Dobrivoje Mladenovic (203), Milos Nikolic (205), Redzep Oruci (219), Arif Pantina (251), Agim Pacarada (220), Basri Plana (200), Desimir Petrovic (193), Serafin Petrovic (200), Iljaz Ramajli (228), Muhamet Ramuka (192), Dobrosav Radovic (209), Dzevat Redzepagic (218), Baskim Rahman (217), Hajredin Sulejmani (218), Idriz Sahiti (206), Mehmet Sabedinaj (196), Nikola Saric (195), Gordana Stojic (195), Sava Stojanovic (199), Sukri Sopa (218), Fakete Sunjaku (206), Pjeter Shlaku (190), Radislav Sapic (196), Sonja Secepanovic (210), Milorad Vujovic (188), Ljubomir Vuckovic (201), Mehmet Zeciri (192), Jagos Zelenovic (195). (TANJUG promises more)

Provincial Presidium Elected

LD1111195689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1547 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—During its first session, the new Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] elected the president of the Kosovo [LC Presidium] and members of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC provincial committee. Zoran Andjelkovic, member of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, took part in the proceedings. By a secret vote, Rahman Morina was elected president of the Provincial Committee by the unanimous decision of all 58 Provincial Committee members present. [passage omitted]

By secret vote, Ljubomir Popovic (54), Azem Hajdini (55), Gani Jasari (55), Sakir Maksu (56), Dobrosav Radovic (53), Sonja Scepanovic (56), Ramadan Murta (52), Sedat Kuci (52), Jagos Zelenovic (50), Zivorad Igic (36), Basri Plana (48), and Nazmi Misini (34) were elected members of the Presidium of the Kosovo Provincial committee.

Djordje Bozovic (32) and Baskim Rahmani (17) were not elected to the Presidium.

This election has ensured the previously agreed national structure of Presidium members, which now has seven Albanians, three Serbs, and one Montenegrin, Turk, and Yugoslav each.

Continuing its proceedings, and after the second candidate, Dobrosav Radovic, had withdrawn, the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee by an open vote elected Ljubomir Popovic Presidium secretary. [passage omitted]

Last Day of Proceedings

LD1111221589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—At the beginning of the closing day at the Kosovo LC Conference the delegates resumed the debate on the 3 and ½ years' work of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] and the central issue of the 15th top meeting of the Kosovo communists: "The Kosovo LC in the struggle for the stabilization of the political situation in the province, social reform, and the democratic transformation of the LC." The delegates are expected to endorse today the list of delegates for the organs of the LCY from the Kosovo LC and elect delegates to the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY.

The first participant in the debate, Ali Krasnici, spoke in favor of a more adequate representation of Romanies in the LC organs and organizations and in employment and called for greater aid regarding their affirmation in Yugoslavia.

We Romanies can also be excellent communists and educators, regardless of the fact that in some parts of the country we are likened to dogs, Krasnici said.

Vesko Piric maintains that the ever greater aggressiveness of the Albanian separatists and nationalists is the consequence of the former leadership's ill-conducted policy. This is why the nationalists are now recruiting fresh blood from those who were aged 10 to 11 in 1981. [passage omitted]

Milica Bojanic highlighted as a question "par excellence" for the conference of the Kosovo communists the change in the name of the province and the appearance of the flag of the Albanian nationality and the establishment of the number of emigrants who have come over from Albania. Avoiding these issues is not a contribution to stabilization but the provision of support to the separatists so that they might continue to use the main symbols which they have developed and promoted in their campaign over many years to drive out the serbs and montenegrins and for the total Albanianization of Kosovo and Metohija and the smashing of Yugoslavia "for the purpose of creating a fascist creation of Greater Albania." [passage omitted]

Kacusa Jasari, arguing with Kecman, rejected his and some of the other speeches at the conference. I have fought, she added, for brotherhood and unity on the bases of the LCY program. I do not withdraw my support for this policy and I will fight for a common front, Kacusa Jasari said, rejecting the policy of "one-upmanship and trying to outwit others."

Momcilo Trajkovic drew attention to the fact that the conference is entering into a phase which is not leading to good things. Everyone has the right to his own opinion, but there should not be accusations and disqualifications if there are no reasons for them. He pointed out that Tomislav Sekulic, as hitherto secretary of the Provincial Committee Presidium, expresses the stance of the committee and he advocated that debates leading to divisions be stopped.

Trajkovic added that he does not accept the views of Kacusa Jasari, which she held previously as well. This policy has failed and we have condemned her because she brought the nations and nationalities to the brink of disaster. A return to the old ways offered by Kacusa Jasari brings us back into conflicts, he warned. [passage omitted]

Becir Mehmeti observed that the leader of the LC organization in Trepca, Branislav Kokaric, did not find it appropriate to say a word or two about how the miners live. He said that Trepca has been stagnating since the Serbs and Montenegrins left the combine, as if Albanians do not know how to manage. I would ask Kokaric how it is that he agreed to become the leader of an organization which he calls "a bastion of fascism".

Mehmeti then asked conference delegates whether the use of the word "Siptari" [derogatory term for ethnic Alanians] is acceptable. I believe, he added, that there exists in the written and spoken language a suitable term for Albanians, and we are known as Albanians in the world.

Mehmet Ajeti, chairman of the Municipal Committee of the Titova Mitrovica LC, also had objections to Kokaric's line of argument. Our committee gave its full support and a free hand in the formation of a team to lead the combine to Cazim Salja, chairman of the management board of Trepca. It was envisaged that this committee would consist of three Albanians, two members of the Serbian nationality and one Muslim.

In response to these retorts, Branislav Kokaric again read part of his speech and then asked: Why does it bother some people that in Trepca the most creative, the most capable, and the best people are selected?

Rahman Morina, first, in the name of the working Presidium, proposed to conference delegates that they return to the documents which have been supported in a united way, and in this way slowly bring the debate to an end. Why draw things out with unnecessary things, Morina asked, before turning to the delegates from Trepca and asking them to stop laying the blame for everything on the miners. You should sit down and resolve the problems together instead of constantly arguing, Morina said, and for this he was rewarded with applause.

Morina said that he agrees with Kokaric's objections concerning the selection of cadres in Trepca. I agree that the most competent, best, and most creative people should be selected but I do not agree that only one nationality has "good and specially skilled people." There is also the key according to which cadres are elected, and in the LC too the orientation exists that both one thing and the other, both the nationality key and the competence of people, should be borne in mind, Morina concluded. [passage omitted]

Referring to the discussion statement yesterday by Ivan Grzetic, a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia, Balevic agreed with his plea that sniping should cease. However, he added, it is now we who are indulging in sniping; we are exposed to barrage firing.

Having spoken in detail about the activities of the Socialist Alliance of Kosovo, Daut Jasanica noted that the actions in north- western parts of the country encourage the separatist forces in the Province. Jasanice also mentioned some, as he put it, "indicative and malicious" attacks on him. Socialist Alliance evaluations about his work are available. No one is infallible, but if our commitments are the same—to give life to the stands of the 15th conference of the LC of Kosovo—then we have to work together on it, Jasanica stressed.

Saying that she did not wish to enter into polemics with Kacusa Jasari, Jasmina Vlahovic said that she had been provoked by the delegates who had applauded her. The message passed on to them by Jasmina Vlahovic is that "they should spare the palms of their hands" for better speakers who have something to say. [passage omitted]

Jovic also referred, as he said, to the "impermissible conduct of a number of members of the federal militia unit who in Vitina ill-treated a group of youngsters only because they were wearing a badge with Slobodan Milosevic's picture on it". Replying to Kacusa, Jasari Jovic made the evaluation "that she not only represents a failed policy, but this was a policy of division and bloodshed which must not be repeated." [passage omitted]

Explaining the conference documents and summarising the 3-day debate, Ljubomir Popovic, secretary of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, assessed that in the work of the highest gathering of communists of the province a criticial attitude toward all the topics aired has prevailed. The conference delegates request the decisive struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism and the restoration of interethnic trust, Popovic said. [passage omitted]

Advocating the pluralism of ideas and free organization in the framework of the Socialist Alliance of Working People, the conference expressed a united stance against multi-party organization, because this, as Popovic said, would lead to dangerous divisions on an interethnic basis and the formation of national parties.

After an exhaustive debate the delegates were informed of the results of the voting for candidates to become members of the LCY central committee, members of the stautory commission and of the supervisory commission of the LCY from the Kosovo LC, and about the election of delegates for the 14th Extraordinary congress of the LCY.

Two hundred and thirty-two delegates voted on candidates for the LCY central committee from the Kosovo LC, and one ballot paper was invalid. The results of the voting were as follows: Husamedin Azemi (168), Jusuf Karakusi (169), Vera Aleksic-Tepavcevic (183), Mitar Baljevic (148), general Fadilj Curanoilo (215), Vukasin Jokanovic (170), Musa Juniku (197), Petar Kostic (175), Dr Skender Karahoda (177), Sefcet Kacikola (171), Cazim Salja (150), Drita Sosi (197), and Momcilo Trajkovic (122).

Of the 13 candidates put forward, 12 were supposed to be elected. However, the conference accepted the proposal of the Electoral Commission that all 13 proposed candidates remain on the list of candidates for membership of the LCY central committee. This standpoint was reacted to by Momcilo Trajkovic, who obtained the least number of votes, and thus was not elected as a candidate for membership of the LCY Central Committee.

I am not surprised by this fact. It is obvious that many people do not agree with what I do, what I say, and what I fight for, so I do not accept any compromise, although the conference has voted to decide that I be on the list of candidates. [passage omitted]

Rahman Morina did not accept the withdrawal of Trajkovic. The platform advocted by Momcilo Trajkovic does not differ from the platform of the LCY, and the conference has already voted to decide that all 13 candidates put forward go though, he said.

Zivorad Igic remarked that as far as voting is concerned the things had not been working out at the conference since yesterday in the way they should have done. It is not an accident that the lowest number of votes had been received by members of the Municipal Committee in Pristina who had been fighting more than anyone else for the stabilization in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Zoran Andjelkovic believes that the voting is not a technical but a political issue. In the election for the Congress delegates three members of the Presidium of the new LC Provincial Committee failed to be elected, university rector, one municipal committee president, and one secretary. The very people who should pursue the LC action, Andjelkovic said, have lost. He suggested that another vote be taken, only the members of the new provincial committee being entitled to vote.

Milorad Vujovic's comment was in the same vein. He suggested the vote should be retaken only in respect of the candidates who failed to get the required majority. Momcilo Trajkovic asked to be given the floor again. He said that on the list for the membership of the LCY Central Committee two representatives of Serbian nationality had received the required number of votes—Vukasin Jokanovic and Petar Kostic who are both proven fighters for the LCY policy. He asked again the conference to approve the result of the vote and also that his name should not be on the list of members of the LCY Central Committee.

Rahman Morina who was chairing the session agreed with Trajkovic's stand and the conference then approved the report by the Electoral Commission.

In his winding-up speech Rahman Morina assessed that the 15th conference of Kosovo communists, by its ideo-political unity and the orientation not to desist from the consistent implementation of LCY policy in Kosovo, has made the best possible contribution to action to settle the situation in the province and justified the expectations of working people and citizens of all nationalities throughout Kosovo.

Many years of erroneously conducted policy has brought us much trouble. This policy, Morina said, was not able to survive because it was not in anyone's interest, nor in the interest of any nation or nationality. This has been confirmed at this conference too.

We want a clean sheet and to be true representatives of all the the nations and nationalities who live in Kosovo and are interested in a peaceful, equal, and more beautiful life. It is worth fighting for such a policy and life which all people deserve, despite all the trials and difficulties which this struggle brings with it.

At this conference we have decided in a united way to continue in an even more determined way in the period ahead the implementation of LCY policy on Kosovo, and remove the causes and consequences of the counter-revolutionary activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism, halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, consistently implement the policy of brotherhood and unity, and national equality, as well as be an active and creative participant in social reform and the democratic transformation of the LC.

Mentioning that resistance to the policy is still very powerful, Morina said that everything is being done to return life to normal in Kosovo, to get people back to their jobs, to restore trust, and to establish and strengthen the united socialist front of all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo. In this, I am sure, assistance from the Serbian LC and the LCY will not be lacking.

I am convinced that the truth about Kosovo and about LC policy which is being conducted in Kosovo will prevail, too, in those parts of the country in which for the time being there is not sufficient understanding of this policy. Morina assessed that individual dissonant tones which were heard at the conference should be understood as a democratic dialogue and as a desire to remove as soon as possible the numerous problems which have been exerting pressure for years.

No one should imagine that we want to shift the responsibility for our problems, primarily for the nationalistic activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists on someone else or on some other part of the country. No one has advocated this here at the conference. However, we must state, Morina said, that we need the kind of support from communists which will not provide help for Albanian separatists. If there is lack of willingness to help us, then we demand that at least difficulties should not be placed in our way. I think that this too has been the unanimous stance of this conference.

Kosovo is always open to all well-intended people, to everyone willing to help us and live with us. However, criticism for the sake of criticism does not help anyone. Let them all come, let them see what problems we have and let them help us to resolve these problems so that we no longer have to burden the whole country with them. Do we not wish to leave the peaceful life in other parts of the country?

It will be hard to crown all our tasks with good results unless we approach every problem together. The trust you have placed in us, Morina said, is a great honor for us all, but it is even more of an important commitment, and it is not a privilege. I am confident that the unity displayed at this conference is a significant contribution to the successful work of the impending congress of the LC of Serbia and of the 14th special congress of the LCY, the president of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo stressed, winding up the 3-day session of the 15th conference of the LC of Kosovo, whereupon the sound of the Internationale reverberated through the hall.

The effective duration of the 3-day conference of the LC of Kosovo was over 30 hours, and over 100 delegates took part in the discussion.

Resolution Adopted

LD1211025889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1951 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Pristina, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—The League of Communists [LC] of Kosovo in the Struggle to Stabilize the Political Situation in the Province, Social Reform and Democratic Transformation of the LC is the title of the resolution adopted at the 15th conference of the LC of Kosovo tonight.

The struggle to eliminate the causes and consequences of the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists is the main task of the LC of Kosovo, of every LC member, of organized subjective forces, and of all working people and citizens in Kosovo, the first paragraph of the resolution stresses. It goes on to stress:

Consistently implementing League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] policy on Kosovo, the LC of Kosovo will work resolutely toward national equality, the renewal of interethnic trust, and brotherhood and unity of all the nations and nationalities in the province.

The LC of Kosovo will persist in resolutely supporting the incipient changes in implementing LCY policy on Kosovo. The most important thing is to initiate and develop extensive political work among communists, working people, citizens, young people, pupils, and students so that a broad front of all progressive forces of Kosovo can be formed regarding the implementation of LCY policy.

The communists in Kosovo will work in such a way that the awareness will prevail in Kosovo of the need for all nations and nationalities to live in harmony and

equality, enabling Kosovo to free itself of national discord and divisions and become fit for socioeconomic development and progress. Kosovo's future is in genuine economic and political integration in the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia and in the SFRY, the conditions for which were created with the adoption of the amendments to the constitutions of the SFRY, the SR of Serbia, and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The LC of Kosovo will specifically oppose in a principled way all manifestations of inbuilt national majority and obstruction on the basis of national membership. The LC of Kosovo is committed to persistently and consistently fighting to strengthen the awareness of belonging to Yugoslavia and for Yugoslav socialist patriotism, especially within the ranks of young people in Kosovo.

The LC of Kosovo will oppose attempts by Serb and Montenegrin nationalists to abuse the complex situation in Kosovo and the problems in interethnic relations for their own ends.

To bring an end to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo must be the most important yardstick to measure the success of the struggle against the counterrevolution by Albanian nationalists and separatists and an indicator of the normalization of the situation in the province. Communists in the organs and organizations at all levels are committed to involving themselves in specific programs and to ensuring conditions that will favor the return of emigrated Serbs and Montenegrins.

Kosovo communists demand that responsibility in the province and throughout the country for fulfilling the commitments stemming from the Yugoslav program on Kosovo must be stepped up. These commitments must be carried out on time and must serve the basic objective for which they were adopted.

The necessary conditions to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and to help them return can be established only through the establishment of a united front, at the Yugoslav federal level, to fight against the counterrevolution in Kosovo and through joint Yugoslav action. New measures have to be devised and practical measures have to be worked out, and not only in Kosovo, to ensure the return of those who have emigrated and the arrival of those who wish to live and work in Kosovo.

In stabilizing the political and security situation in the province, a priority task of the Communists is to secure full personal and property safety of all the citizens in the SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] of Kosovo, especially of the Serbs and Montenegrins, and to foil the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists.

The LC of Kosovo will work for efficient and consistent implementation of the solutions implicit in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia and in the Constitution of the SAP of Kosovo. Legal security, legality, and responsibility of state and other organs in the performance of work have to be ensured on the basis of these solutions.

Concretization of constitutional solutions and implementation in practice must contribute to the development and strengthening of unity in the SR of Serbia, self-management integration in the republic, the establishment of socialist self-management production relations, and to the fulfillment of workers' class interests. This will show best that the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia are in the interests of all citizens equally, irrespective of their nationality, and that in this way the fear will be removed that these changes are allegedly directed against the interests of the Albanian nationality.

The Communists are duty bound with cogent argument to unmask the reactionary objectives and substance of the "Kosovo—a republic" demand.

The part of the resolution on the political system says that the LC of Kosovo is working for further improve it, and for political pluralism, whose basis lies in self-management socialism and Yugoslavia, which signifies conflict of opinion, pluralism of ideas, and free organization within the framework of the Socialist Alliance.

Socialist self-management constitutes the essence of democracy for which the LC is working, not a struggle of political parties for power. In the Yugoslav area, organization along party lines would lead to dangerous divisions on an interethnic basis.

Resolute opposition is stressed against all attempts to wreck, and all attacks on, the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and against all reactionary ideas and demands to change the all-people's defense and social self-protection concept.

The LC of Kosovo is advocating radical and comprehensive reform and changes to the economic system which create the conditions for reasserting modern commodity production and a market system of economic operations. A re-examination of the strategy of the province's socioeconomic development and a change in its economic structure are called for.

The LC of Kosovo advocates an active population policy in keeping with the attained degree of the province's socio-economic development and with opportunities for productive employment and for ensuring an appropriate level of personal and social standard of living. The section on social activities stresses the need for ideopolitical and educational work with young people so that all the causes which encourage formation of nationalistic and separatist awareness can be removed.

Opposition to manipulations in public information media and their abuse, a broader opening of the culture of the nations and nationalities in Kosovo, and its permeation with the cultural values of the country are demanded.

The process of further democratization of the LC of Kosovo must proceed along the line of establishment of greater unity in the LC of Serbia and must serve the consolidation of the LC of Kosovo and the LC of Serbia as a united organization. It will have its full and proper

revolutionary meaning if the LC of Kosovo is expressed as a defacto subject of the policy which is established and carried out in the forums of the LC of Serbia of which the LC of Kosovo is an integral part.

For the LC of Kosovo democratic centralism is an irreplaceable principle. (?The) LC is against all the efforts to replace the principle of democratic centralism with consensus.

At the same time, it will resolutely oppose the views that see democracy exclusively in the absolute independence of the parts of the LC in relation to the LC as a whole, and the tendency to establish the relations of negotiations and agreement-seeking because this leads virtually to federalization, stresses, among other things the resolution of the 15th conference of the LC of Kosovo.

Name Submitted for Bosnia-Hercegovina Head

LD1411005689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 13 Nov (TANJUG)—At its session this evening, the Sarajevo League of Communists [LC] City Committee which is, in fact, the largest party organization in Bosnia-Hercegovina, added the name of Dzemal Sokolovic, a lecturer at Sarajevo's Faculty of Political Sciences, to the list of candidates for the office of the president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee. The list already includes Nijaz Durakovic and Smajo Beslija.

At the same session, the City Committee proposed Miro Lazic, a worker, for the office of the secretary of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee.

Vojvodina Farmers Found Own Alliance 14 Nov

LD1211203389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1839 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Novi Sad, November 12 (TANJUG)—The farmers of the Yugoslav province of Vojvodina, the country's breadbasket, have decided to found their own farmers' alliance.

The future organization of Vojvodina farmers, whose founding is planned or November 14, does not wish to be engaged in politics, but is aimed at protecting the economic interests of farmers. The organization wishes to fight for the equal status of farmers and the social sector, and to make equal business conditions in all of agriculture with those in other parts of the Yugoslav economy.

Ruza Denes, who has been proposed for the post of president of the alliance, assessed that the long-term ideological misconception about the social sector as the backbone of agricultural production has brought the village and the farmer into a hopeless situation. She believes that state measures have done more harm than good to the economy in the past decades.

For the first time in more recent political history, farmers will have their own delegates, three of them, in the Socialist Alliance of Vojvodina.

The socialist alliance and the youth organization of Vojvodina support the future farmers' alliance.

The Farmers' Alliance of Slovenia, the most industrialized Yugoslav Republic, was founded last year and is quite active.

Trade Union Body To Be 'Completely Independent'

LD1311162989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1539 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 13 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav trade union will, in accord with the demands of its members, become a completely independent organization, the Yugoslav trade union leaders told a press conference in the international press center here today.

The economic reform also prescribes a reform of the trade union because there will be significant changes in the position of workers in conditions of pluralism of ownership and market, said Yugoslav Trade Union President Andjelko Vasic and Yugoslav Trade Union Presidency members Zvonimir Hrabar and Marjan Orozen.

They also said that the trade union would especially work for the protection of workers who get laid off after the implementation of the economic reform.

The trade union officials said they would fight against the existing law under which laid off workers who do not find other jobs be paid compensation for only two years and would use all available means in the fight, including the calling of a general strike.

On the reform of the trade union, the officials said that voluntary membership in the organization would be emphasized. So far, all workers and employees automatically became members of the trade union and the membership dues were immediately deducted from their salaries.

SAWPY Conference Agrees on Media Programming

LD1011164789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1401 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—A Sunday TV and radio program for the entire radio and TV network in Yugoslavia on the work of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], federal organs, and organizations will start at the beginning of next year. Representatives of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] federal conference, Yugoslav radio and TV, and the FEC Secretariat for Information agreed on this today at the SAWPY federal conference.

Following a principled agreement between a program committee for television of the Yugoslav radio and TV and the program committee for radio, it was established that this FEC initiative represents a contribution to a fuller dissemination of information and integration of Yugoslav information. It was said that the introduction of these programs will ensure a better, more timely, and professional treatment of a complex economic situation and measures which are being undertaken for a more efficient realization of the economic reform.

The conviction was expressed that the foreign public should also be given an opportunity to follow trends in Yugoslavia more comprehensively in this way.

Expert teams from Belgrade Radio and TV and Zagreb Radio and TV will prepare a detailed concept for this TV program, while Sarajevo Radio and Belgrade Radio will do the same for the radio program. "Pilot" programs will be prepared at the beginning of December.